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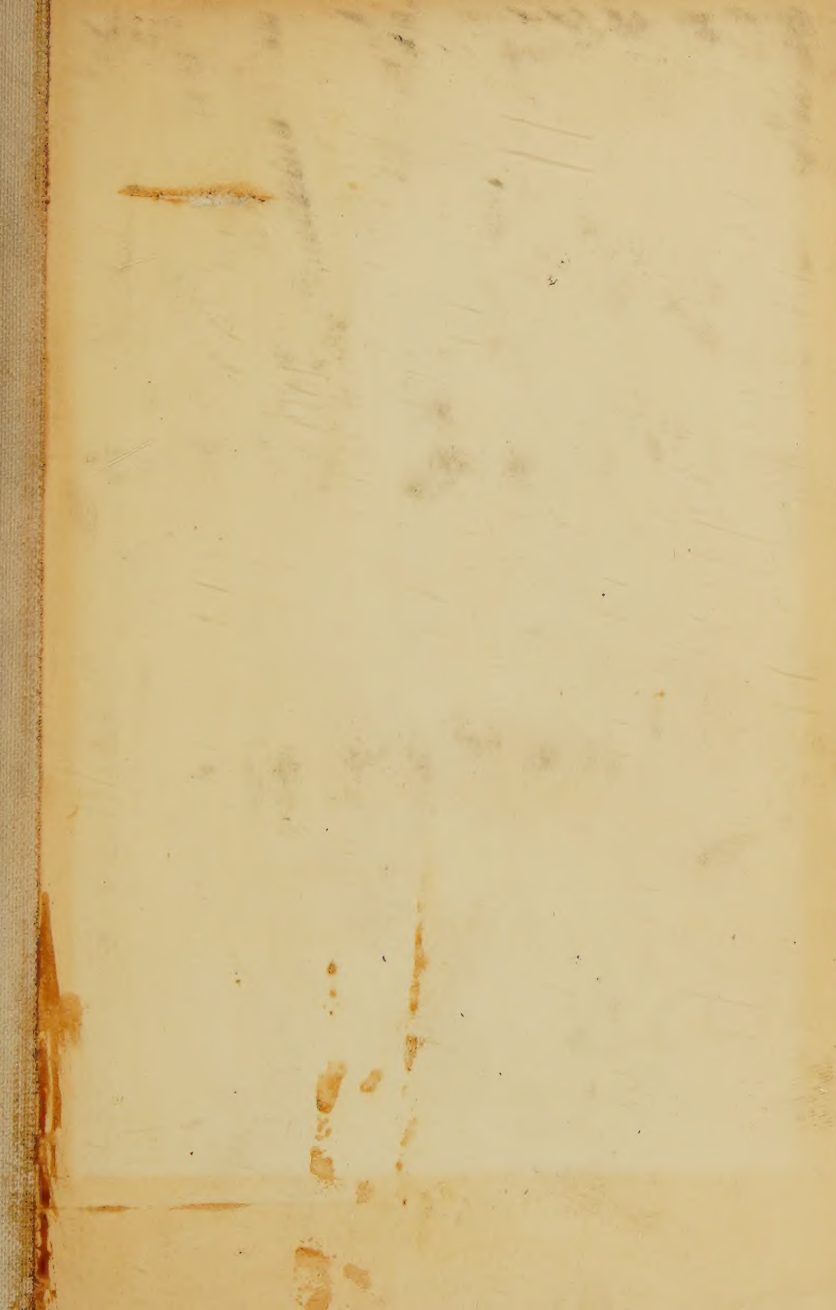
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New Series.

ACCRA

BY

DOM MARTIN COLLETT, H.C.F., B.SC.,
of the Pershore Benedictine Community.



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to

HER HIGHNESS

THE PRINCESS MARIE LOUISE.

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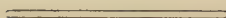
PREFACE.

THE foot-notes and certain passages in the text make acknowledgment of the author's indebtedness to those writers whose books he has used, and he hopes that this has been done without any omission. He desires also to express his gratitude to others who have helped in various ways with the production of this little book. Miss Horne and others of the editorial staff of S.P.G. have helped very generously with counsel, suggestion, and criticism; thanks are due also to his friend, Miss Jones, for permission to use the photograph facing page 16, which was taken by her brother, the late District-Commissioner O. K. Jones; a larger book would probably have contained more of his photographs. Two other friends must also be included in this list—Miss Turner for typing out all the manuscript, by no means an easy task, and Mr. Bell for taking the photograph of the exhibits.

Messrs. Cadbury have been most kind in lending photographs for the illustrations, in reading through the proofs, especially that part dealing with the cocoa industry, and in making suggestions. The Gold Coast Government's Bureau in Victoria Street has also been most ready to help, especially by way of answering hard questions, in giving the accepted spelling of place names (though it must not be held responsible for any errors in that respect), and in offering photographs for the illustrations.

The Princess Marie Louise's knowledge of, and interest in, the diocese of Accra is too well known to need appraisement here, and they are not confined to the missionary life of the diocese, but cover almost every aspect of life and activity in that kaleidoscopic country. But the author wishes to express here his sense of the honour she has done him in allowing this book to appear under her patronage—a very great honour for so small a book.

M.C.



ACCRA.

CHAPTER I.

COUNTRY AND PEOPLES.

The Diocese of Accra provides one of the most complicated and difficult, but nevertheless one of the most fascinating and interesting, problems of the overseas mission work of the Church of England. It lies wholly within the tropics in that part of Africa which, on account of the effects of its climate on Europeans, used to be nicknamed "The White Man's Grave." But in spite of its difficult and dangerous climate, the attraction of its wealth has grown stronger year by year ever since its discovery by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. After many disputes and struggles among the various European powers for the possession of the coast line, that part of it between the Tano River in the west and the Volta in the east—the Gold Coast—came definitely under British control in 1872. To our possessions along the coast, Ashanti was added in 1896 and the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast in 1897.

This area which thus came under British control, and which forms the Diocese of Accra, is 78,650 square miles—almost as large as England and Scotland. The coast line of about 330 miles lies between $1^{\circ} 14'$ east and $3^{\circ} 7'$ west longitude, that is, almost due south of England, and from this the country runs northward a distance of about 400 miles from latitude $4^{\circ} 45'$ north to latitude $11^{\circ} 10'$ north. Part of the old German

colony of Togoland was placed under the Gold Coast Government by Mandate of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, and this is now included in the Diocese of Accra.

There is good reason for believing that the Phœnicians and other traders of the ancient world visited the Gold Coast and carried on trade there, but such written records as have come down are not conclusive, or, at any rate, sufficiently detailed to enable us to identify any of the features described. It is certain, however, that if they traded on the Gold Coast they dealt, on the whole, with people different from those who now occupy the coast. The Gas, it is true, may even then have occupied the region round about Accra, but the Fantis were not to reach the coast for several centuries to come. There are at various places along the coast communities of people speaking a language very different from Fanti, and these may represent the aboriginals whom the Fantis for the most part displaced, and with whom the Phœnicians carried on their commerce.

Another far-off glimpse of this country is possibly given us in the thirteenth century of our era. At this time caravans were regularly passing across the Western Sahara between Morocco and Walata. Among the commodities for which they traded was gold, which, they were told, was obtained from a country much further south, across a great river. The "great river" was in all probability the Niger, and the country from which the gold came would be what we now call "The Gold Coast."

The Portuguese are usually given the credit of having been the first Europeans to discover, and to open up trade with, the Gulf of Guinea. By the year 1482 they had certainly established a trading station and fort at Elmina. A claim has, however, been put

forward that the French had here a fort as early as 1364, but that, in order to keep all the trade for themselves, they kept their discovery secret from the rest of Europe. The recent discovery of a mutilated inscription at Elmina may possibly serve to establish their claim.

From the time of the Portuguese discovery in the first half of the fifteenth century until well on towards the end of the nineteenth the whole of the Guinea Coast was the object of constant struggles and bargainings between the various European powers, carried on for the most part without any regard for the wishes of its peoples and true owners. Desire for possession was prompted, of course, by the desire for trade, and it should never be forgotten that until 1807 slaves formed the chief part of their commerce.

To digress for a moment: we shall never be able to estimate the effect of this slave trade on the African peoples themselves; that it frequently caused inter-tribal wars cannot be doubted; that the treachery and cruelty involved should have a degrading effect on both victors and vanquished was inevitable. It would be well to remember this when superior people contemptuously describe the West African peoples as cruel, blood-thirsty and barbaric.

Into the details of the struggles between the various European powers for possession of the coast it is not necessary to enter, nor is it to our purpose to describe at length the development of the British hold upon Ashanti and the Northern Territories. Although there was much in the British dealings with the Ashantis which was not creditable to British foresight or fair-dealing, the Ashantis themselves would probably be the readiest to acknowledge the great good (not unmixed, however, with some evil) which has come to them with the British rule.

But something must be recorded of the history of the various peoples inhabiting the Diocese of Accra. The Ashantis and the Fantis together form the greatest section of the population. They were originally one nation—Akan—and lived in the open country north of the forest belt which stretches inland from the sea coast for about two or three hundred miles. At this time, and in this country, they are supposed to have been a pastoral people. The frequent incursions into their country of a lighter-skinned people—perhaps Fulanis or Arabs—caused them to migrate into the forest country, where their enemies, who were accustomed to fight on horseback, were unable to follow them. Here their numbers increased, and here, too, in all probability, the Akan nation was split into its two main branches, the Ashanti and Fanti.

The names of these two branches of the Akan people are said to be derived from the names of two plants, "*shan*" and "*fan*." These combined with "*dti*" (meaning "to eat") form "*Shandti*" and "*Fandti*." It is said that during a period of famine one section of the people lived mainly on shan and the other mainly on fan, and so came to be called by these names.

It is traditionally asserted among the Fantis that they found the forest uninhabited, but in process of time the Fantis penetrated to the coast, where they found the two tribes, the Asebus and the Etsiis, whom eventually they subdued. At Winneba and some other places along the coast are to be found people who still speak a language quite different from any dialect of Twi, the language of the Akan peoples: it is possible that these people still represent the aboriginal tribes whom the Fantis found on the coast.

An off-shoot of the Ashantis is said to have driven a wedge through the Fanti people and to have reached the coast at Elmina. These people are now called

"Elminas," and it is certain that they have always maintained the closest relations with Ashanti.

There are yet two other peoples on the coast—the Gas in the Accra district and the Appollonians in the west. These are supposed to have migrated along the coast (or, in the case of the Gas, perhaps oversea) from east and west respectively. It is suggested that the Ga people at one time exercised authority along the coast from Accra to Benin in Southern Nigeria.

The Northern Territories are inhabited by various tribes of whose history but little is known as yet; they may be aboriginal, or fusions of the aboriginal people with some of the negro races from the Sudan. This latter suggestion receives support from the fact that the Gyomas and Walas speak a dialect of Moshi, the language of a people who once formed a great empire stretching as far as Timbuktu; and from the fact that the ruling families seem often to be of a different race from their subjects. But for the most part the people live in scattered compounds and owe very little, if any, allegiance to any external authority, though the British Government is trying to strengthen and extend the authority of such chiefs as there are.

Added to this medley of peoples there are the Hausas, who have a settlement—called the "zongo"—in all the large towns throughout the diocese. Indeed, in some towns, as at Wenchi, for example, the zongo is much larger than the native village. Mixed with the Hausas are some Fulanis and other wanderers from the Sudan. In the mining districts, too, are large settlements of immigrants from Nigeria (Yorubas) and elsewhere, who still retain their own customs and language.

All these people without exception are great travellers and live and work side by side, for the most part very amicably. It is thus no uncommon thing for

a sermon, or the evidence at a trial in one of the courts, to be translated into two or even three languages besides the original. English, of course, is taught in all the schools, and until recently the vernaculars have been discouraged. But by a wise and statesmanlike change of policy, the Education Authority is now insisting that the vernaculars shall form the basis of the educational system, with a knowledge of English grafted on to them.

About the religion of the peoples of the Northern Territories it is not yet possible to say much. Except for the small colony of the White Fathers in the extreme north, there is, as yet (1928), no missionary settled in this country, and the political and other officers of the Government are usually too much occupied in other ways to be able to pay much attention to this matter, though a certain amount of information might possibly be gleaned from their Reports to the Colonial Office. The more thanks are due to Mr. A. W. Cardinall (at one time District Commissioner at Zuaragu) for his book, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast* (1920). What is here written of the religion of the people of the Northern Territories is, in the main, taken from this book, which refers only to the peoples of the Navrongo-Zuaragu district.

Even within the confines of this district it is possible to find considerable differences of belief and tradition. The people live in separate compounds, independently, to a large extent, of other compounds, and each compound preserves its own tradition and is a law to itself.

They believe in a supreme God, *Wuni*, who has pre-ordained everything, and whose "theology" would therefore seem to owe something to the influence of Mohammedanism. As with the Ashantis, this supreme

God is identified to a certain extent with the sky, and in this guise he can be approached in prayer. But the spirits of practical importance are the earth-gods, of whom there are many, one for every place. These must be appeased and propitiated, since they control the growth of the crops. But they are believed to have power only over the people of their own earth, and not over strangers thereon. On the other hand, they retain their power over their own people even when these move away to the territory of some other earth-god.

But every object and every force of nature has its own spirit, and if these things be necessary or dangerous to life their spirits must be propitiated. The earth-god and the more important forces of nature have their own priests, who are held responsible for the proper behaviour of their gods. Thus in time of drought the rain-priest will find himself tied up in no gentle fashion, and kept without food until it does rain.

There are also evil spirits to be guarded against. Those who claim to have seen them, describe them as being similar in appearance to the *mmoatia** of the Ashantis. They are said to be frequently born of women, and a sorcerer is always called in after birth to determine whether the child is a true human being or an incarnate devil. Deformed children almost always, twins sometimes, and normal children occasionally, are thus discovered to be devils and must be destroyed. In all matters of importance the sorcerer is consulted; his attitude, however, is a very passive one, and it would seem that he simply explores and voices the subconscious mind of his consultant, who remains quite ignorant of the important contribution he has made to the final verdict.

* See page 19,

Certain animals are held to be sacred, notably those that live near the homes of men. At Wiassi there is a large pool of water full of crocodiles which may not be harmed, and in return do not interfere with those who come to the pool for drinking-water or even to swim. Some of the people of this district seem to believe that their souls are not only in themselves, but in one of these sacred animals as well, and that man and animal suffer together.

The survival of the soul after death is an accepted article of belief, and the funeral customs have for their object the providing of necessities and comforts for the dead in the place of the departed. Men are buried facing east, but women facing west, because "all evil comes from women, and if they should see the sunrise they would spoil the day." Occasionally a departed spirit may become reincarnate in some descendant of the same sex.

Morality in the more restricted use of the word is practically non-existent, and perjury in the courts is not only common—"it is invariably practised."* This arises from the fact that there is no binding oath. It is usual for these people to confirm their oath by eating a pinch of earth. But, as we have seen, an earth-god has no power over anyone who does not belong to his own earth, and thus, for example, "a Zuaragu man could eat any quantity of Bolgatanga earth and swear by it as much as he liked; he has nothing to fear. And in the case of one swearing falsely on his own earth, he protects himself by sacrifice . . . or by the simple device of muttering a recantation inaudible to the Court."†

* Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, page 104.

† *Ibid.*, page 50.

CHAPTER II.

THE ASHANTIS.

It will manifestly be impossible in a small handbook such as this to discuss fully the history, customs and religions of these various peoples. But in order to understand something of the problems which confront the Christian missions it is obviously necessary to know something of the ground-work of native thought and custom upon which those missions must build. The old missionary policy of dragging a convert completely out of his old life, of telling him that everything of his old belief and practice was wrong and diabolical, has been abandoned, and it is now sought to retain whatever is not in conflict with Christian faith and morals, and to build thereupon the more perfect Christian structure. The old method was unsatisfactory in many ways for, though it undoubtedly produced many devout and self-sacrificing converts, it nevertheless made them strangers and foreigners among their own people.

For the purpose of this study the Ashantis may be taken as being fairly typical, the more so as their customs have been very carefully studied and described by the Government anthropologist, Captain R. S. Rattray, to whom all who are interested in the ways of primitive peoples owe an immense debt of gratitude for his painstaking work carried out, very often, in most difficult circumstances.

During the time that European trade with the coast was being developed the Ashanti people were gradually fighting their way to a position of supremacy over the surrounding tribes. The King of Kumasi thus came to exercise authority over a wide empire, extending from the coast at Elmina to far into the Northern Territories. There was living at Yendi, the capital of Dagomba,

until recently an old Ashanti, who had been sent there to collect from the chief his tribute to the King of Kumasi.* It was probably only the presence of Europeans on the coast that prevented the Ashantis from subduing all the coast people. This suzerainty was not maintained without constant struggle for, though the Ashantis showed an aptitude for conquest by force of arms, they did not show marked ability to govern the subjected tribes.

One of the most marked and important features of their social organization is the position of the women, who possess a status and an authority that may well be envied by some of their European sisters. This condition of affairs, which is in all probability extremely primitive, is due to the fact that descent is traced through the mother and not through the father. According to the Ashanti way of reckoning the mother alone can transmit blood to her offspring; the father transmits "*ntoro*," which may be translated "spirit." Thus all the children of a royal woman are royal also, but only her daughters can in their turn beget royal offspring. It comes about, therefore, that on the death of a chief his successor is never chosen from among his own sons, but from among the sons of his mother's female relatives, sisters, daughters, maternal aunts, and so on. Marriage between people of the same blood is strictly forbidden as is also marriage between those of the same *ntoro*.

Whilst we are on this point it might be well to describe a marriage that was, at one time, compulsory in families of any consequence. A man compelled his children to marry the children of his sisters. His son's children would thus possess both his own blood and his own *ntoro*, and, if the custom had been observed in the preceding generation, his daughter's children would also

* See A. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, page 9.

possess his own blood and *ntoro*. This was believed to render possible "pure re-incarnation" of his own ancestors, and according to Ashanti custom it does render possible the bestowal of the family names. "*Me din nyera da*" ("may my name never be lost") is, according to Captain Rattray, a wish which in Ashanti is almost a prayer. It is characteristic, too, that a man frequently addresses a grandson as "*nana*," which strictly means "grandfather."

In all the ruling families not only is one of the men chosen to be chief, but also one of the women is chosen to be the "Queen-Mother." She need not necessarily be the mother of the chief though naturally a Queen-Mother will often endeavour to secure the election of her own son to a vacant "stool." The old Ashanti women and some, at any rate, of the older men maintain that the Queen-Mother's stool is senior to the chief's. However this may be, it is certain that the Queen-Mother exercises very great authority in public affairs, and that she has the unique privilege of having the right to rebuke the chief or his councillors publicly in open court. Unfortunately, the British Government does not, as yet, officially recognize the office of Queen-Mother, though all the Queen-Mothers of Ashanti were invited to accompany the chiefs to the durbar held at Kumasi in honour of the Prince of Wales when he visited West Africa in 1925.

The reference to the re-incarnation of ancestors will have made it obvious that the Ashantis believe in life after death. Their funeral customs, and the prayers which accompany them, make this even more clear. Before the English rule put a stop to such a custom it was the invariable rule at the funeral of a great man or woman to kill a number of slaves to provide a suitable attendance upon the soul of the great one in the world of spirits. Many and very elaborate ceremonies are regularly held for the honour and propitiation of the

departed rulers of a clan. The most important of these are the *adae* ceremonies, which are repeated twice during each successive interval of forty-two days; once on the Sunday which begins the period and once on the third Wednesday after it. During these ceremonies the chief, bare-footed and bare-shouldered (that is to say with the utmost reverence) places a spoonful of food on each carefully preserved stool of his predecessor, saying, "My spirit grandfathers, to-day is the Wednesday *adae*, come and receive this mashed plaintain and eat; let this town prosper; and permit the bearers of children to bear children; and may all the people who are in this town get riches."*

According to Ashanti belief every material object, whether animal, plant, or mineral has its spirit or *sunsum*. Some of these spirits are beneficent, or at least so weak as to be of no account, whereas others are malicious as well as powerful, and so need to be propitiated or guarded against. The spiritual power of a *sunsum* seems to be in no way related to the physical power for harm possessed by its owner; for example, an antelope, the *bongo*, has a very powerful *sunsum*, and if a hunter should kill one he immediately sets up the same death chant that he would use for his father or mother, and proceeds to perform various ceremonies to protect himself and his fellows from the action of its *sasa*, i.e., the revengeful, hurtful element of its spirit.

The greatest source of terror, however, to the Ashanti—and apparently to all the West African peoples—is *Sasabonsam*, a monster who inhabits parts of the dense forest. "It is covered with long hair, has large blood-shot eyes, long legs, and feet pointing both ways. It sits on high branches of an *odum* or *onyina* tree and dangles its legs, with which at times it hooks up the unwary hunter. It is hostile to man and is supposed to be specially at enmity with the real

* Rattray, *Ashanti*, page 96.

priestly class. . . . I cannot help thinking that the original *Sasabonsam* may possibly have been the gorilla."* One side of *Sasabonsam* is rotting and putrefying, the other sound and healthy, and it all depends upon which side of him you touch as you pass whether or not you see the dawn of the next day.†

Connected with *Sasabonsam* there is a definite witchcraft and there are both male and female witches, though the latter are by far the more numerous. But in addition to the fact that witchcraft is a punishable offence it labours under two important limitations: a non-adult cannot be a witch, and a witch's power is confined to members of the witch's own clan. The same title "*Komfo*" is used of a witch as is used of a priest of a god. One of these told Captain Rattray that he was the survivor of two hundred *Bonsam Komfo* who had been killed in the reign, and by the order, of King Mensa Bonsu. "His correct title, he said, was *Bonsam Komfo*, which means the priest of a *Bonsam*, i.e., of the monster who has just been described. '*Sasabonsam* is my master, he helps the nation, he is very tall, has long thin legs, long hair, very large red eyes, sits on an *odum* tree, and his legs reach the ground.' Here most certainly we have an open confession of alliance with the powers of evil. 'I was not trained by anyone,' he continued, 'the spirit of a *Bonsam* came upon me like the wind, and thus I learned who were the witches and how to catch them.' "† This use of the power of *Sasabonsam* to detect (and punish) the very evil with which he is thought to be associated is worthy of note.

The Ashantis believe also in fairies or little folks (*mmoatia*), and some claim very definitely to have seen them. A medicine-man learns his art by living for

* Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, page 28.

† See Miss Mary Kingslev, *West African Studies*, page 99.

‡ Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, page 29.

some weeks apart from other human beings, but in the company of the fairies. They are said to be about a foot in height and their feet point backwards; they converse by means of whistling. There are three varieties: black, red, and white; the black ones are harmless, but the other two kinds are up to every kind of mischief.

Connected with *Sasabonsam* and the *mmoatia* is the fetishism which has been thought, though mistakenly, to cover the whole ground of Ashanti religion. A fetish is a charm which is used to control the powers of evil for personal ends, but it would probably be true to say that these ends are more often personal protection from harm, than the working of ill on others. Fetishes are believed to be effective because of the spirits which normally live in them. If the spirit should be offended by the violation of any of his taboos he will depart leaving the fetish quite valueless. The spirits of the fetishes are of a quite inferior order.

Witchcraft and fetishism, though taking a prominent place in the lives of most Ashanti people seem, nevertheless, to be alien to the real religion of these people. "Fetishes spoil the gods" is a frequent assertion of the Ashanti priests, and Captain Rattray ventures to make the assertion that, had the Ashantis been left to themselves, free from European influences, there might have come a day when, having purified their religion from all fetishism, they would have worshipped one Great Spirit, "Who, being one, nevertheless manifested himself in everything around them, and taught men to hear his voice in the flow of his waters and in the sound of his wind among the trees."*

Certain it is that the Ashantis believe in one great and supreme God, *Nyame* (the Sky-god), who is the father of all the gods and the creator of all things. He is believed to be omnipresent and omniscient. He has

* Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, page 24.

his temples—often very beautiful—and his priesthood, and is frequently invoked in prayer and alluded to in proverb. One Ashanti proverb might profitably be called to mind by many Christian people: "I who am sprawling on my back do not see *Nyame*, the Supreme, how do you expect to who are sprawling there on your belly?"

In very many compounds of Ashanti houses may be seen an altar to the Sky-god. This consists of a forked pole planted firmly in the earth with the fork pointing upwards. On the fork rests usually a basin, sometimes a pot, and into this are placed the offerings of fruit, yam or other food for *Nyame*. Such offerings, where there is no altar, are thrown on the roof of the house.

It is interesting to speculate on the question as to how the Ashantis came by their belief in *Nyame*. It has been asserted that they have borrowed the belief from the Christians with whom they have been directly or indirectly in contact for the last five hundred years or so. But it would seem to be too deeply buried in their national life and custom for this to be the true explanation. The answer to this question will, in all probability, provide the answer also to the question as to the origin of the seven-day week among the Ashantis. Here again we have a custom very deeply embedded in national custom, so deeply that every child is greeted at its birth with a name denoting the day of the week on which it first draws breath: "Hail, So-and-so," and this name is sometimes called "*Nyame's* name." It is possible that the Akan people have been in contact with Mohammedanism for more than a thousand years, and this may be the origin of their belief in *Nyame*. This supposition is perhaps supported by the fact that Mecca is well known to them and is described as "the place where *Nyame* is worshipped."* On the other hand,

* Rattray, *Ashanti*, page 179.

however, the modern Ashanti or Fanti seems to have an innate dislike for Mohammedanism—as it is exemplified by his Hausa neighbours at any rate. Furthermore, Saturday is the day of the week on which *Nyame* is specially worshipped, whereas Friday is the Mohammedan holy-day and this fact would suggest a Jewish, or possibly perhaps an Egyptian, rather than a Mohammedan, origin of this belief and custom. But until more evidence is forthcoming the question must remain open.

The very greatness of *Nyame*, however, seems to involve his aloofness from the ordinary affairs of men and he is regarded as having delegated his powers to the lesser gods. These are believed to be his sons or more remote descendants whom *Nyame* decided to send to earth to receive worship from men and to confer benefits upon them. The sons of *Nyame* are identified with the great rivers and other waters of the country, and his grandsons with the tributaries of these and so on through several generations of decreasing importance.

The cultus of these lesser gods forms by far the most prominent feature of the external religious observance of the Ashanti people. Beside having their proper homes in the waters, or rocks, or other natural features of the country, they may be induced to take up their abode for a time in properly prepared shrines, and from these they will give oracular utterances through their priests. The shrines, which are usually great brass bowls, are treated with reverence at all times because of their being the occasional homes of the gods, but they are in no way regarded as being gods, and thus the Ashantis are not, in the strict sense of the word, idolaters. The priests and priestesses of these gods are perhaps what we should call “mediumistic” and make their utterances on behalf of their gods when they are in a state of trance. It is certainly true that they are sometimes quite unaware what they have said until they are

afterwards told about it. They thus probably voice the expectation that is strongest in the minds of those about them. It would seem that human sacrifice has never been offered to the gods, for that would necessitate the partaking of the sacrificed flesh by the worshippers, and cannibalism is abhorrent to the Ashanti mind. Human sacrifices were occasionally offered to certain fetishes, but, as we have already seen, fetishism is not held in high regard even by those who make use of it.

This brief sketch of the religion of the Ashanti people would not be complete without some attempt to describe the effect it has had upon the characters of the people themselves. Over a century ago a Mr. Swanzy described them to a committee of the House of Commons as "the civilest people he had met in a long life of travel," and he went on to say that this was the more remarkable since they were so isolated by the physical features of their country from intercourse with their fellow men. This characteristic of courtesy still marks the Ashanti people generally, though it is suffering some diminution in the modernized towns. Captain Rattray speaks constantly of the extreme kindness with which he was received wherever he went, and his testimony could be ratified by many other travellers, including the writer of this handbook. Chastity, truthfulness, and honesty, at any rate in the old days, were held in high esteem and flourished accordingly. If in these days it is easy to find fault in these matters we must remember that this decline in virtue is largely due to the breaking down of tribal and family authority, and that this, in turn, is largely due to the sudden invasion of the country by our European civilization.

In its main outlines the religion of the Ashantis is the religion of all the Akan peoples. Naturally, of course, a particular god is more venerated in one place than in another, and by one tribe than another, and

similarly fetishism and witchcraft will both have their local developments. The Government was recently obliged to suppress a very elaborate fetish which had been established on the shore of Lake Bosumtwi. It was ostensibly a witch-finding fetish, but it was being used for purposes of blackmail. Its original home was probably in Apollonia. On the coast, of course, the sea-god (one of the sons of *Nyame*) is naturally the object of much attention.

It will readily be seen how excellent a groundwork all this is for the teaching of Christianity. The Ashanti "theology" of *Nyame* is so pure and lofty that missionaries need have no hesitation in identifying him with the God of Christian theology. There needs to be added to the Ashanti conception only notions of his love and nearness. The lesser gods will easily be "converted" into the holy angels who are three times spoken of as the "Sons of God" in the Book of Job, and the reverence paid to ancestors will find its true place and proportion in the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. *Sasabonsam* and the fetish spirits find their parallel in the "Devil and his angels."

CHAPTER III.

A CHANGING COUNTRY.

The work of the anthropologist through all the Accra Diocese must now be done with almost lightning speed if many ancient customs and ceremonies are not to die out unrecorded and forgotten. Inevitably the old life which these peoples have lived, unchanging in its main features for centuries, is now passing away and will soon have gone completely, even in remote villages. The effect on the people is in many ways harmful, for they are losing their old motives and

restraints more rapidly than they are acquiring new ones. Such a period of transition is unavoidable wherever the white man with his advanced civilization comes closely in contact with more primitive peoples. Most fortunately the Government of the Gold Coast is fully aware of the danger, and is doing its utmost in various ways to avoid it, and to guide the people through a very difficult change with as little harm and as much profit as possible.

Perhaps the most notable development that has been brought about under British government is the cultivation of cocoa. "In 1879, returning from the cocoa-fields of Fernando Po, a native of the Gold Coast brought with him a few seeds and planted them at Mampong, on the Akwapim Hills. They thrived, the Agricultural Department took the matter up, and gradually, with the aid of the political service and the chiefs, small experimental plantations and nurseries spread from village to village throughout the Colony and Ashanti."* Now nearly half the world's supply of cocoa is exported from the Gold Coast. And this cocoa-growing is a peasant-industry; there are no great plantations corresponding with the tea-plantations of India and Ceylon, but the villagers themselves grow the cocoa on their own farms.

This and other industries, as well as the strategical necessities of our occupation of the country, have led to the building of two railways from the coast to Kumasi, one from Sekondi and one from Accra. From the former an important branch (as yet unfinished) runs through the Central Provinces of the Colony. A third main line from Kumasi through Kintampo to the Northern Territories is being surveyed. As one travels by either of these railways one gets an excellent impression of the nature of the country, and of the

* *The Gold Coast Handbook* (1923), page 111. But the honour of being the first to introduce cocoa-growing into the Gold Coast Colony is claimed for others too, notably for a member of the Basel mission.

rapid development that has so suddenly been thrust upon it. Accra and Sekondi are modern towns with wide, well-made streets lighted with electric light. There are in both of them large, finely built buildings, public offices, banks, commercial offices, warehouses, and such like, and in the suburbs are the bungalows of the European residents. The streets are thronged by very mixed crowds: the Europeans and some of the wealthier Africans in their motor-cars; Africans, men and women, in the latest European fashions; other Africans in their native habits of gaily coloured cloths, either native woven or imported from Manchester; Syrian traders with their olive complexions; occasionally a chief's procession with its gorgeous great umbrellas, its drums, and its plentiful gold regalia. The same sort of mixed crowd is to be seen at the railway station and on the train. The Africans are, by this time, fairly well accustomed to the idea of railway travel, though occasionally one may still watch a struggle to get some yelling boy or girl on to the train, much as in England one sometimes sees a youngster being dragged to school by a flustered but determined mother. But in Africa the friends never seem to get flustered; they quietly set to work to exert the physical force necessary to attain their end, and then go on calmly cleaning their teeth with their chewing-sticks.

About twenty or thirty miles out of the town, after passing through the palm-belt, the train enters the thick forest, and then, except for the actual railway itself, one is in the heart of the tropical Africa of the story-book. Some of the trees rise to a height of one hundred and fifty, or even two hundred, feet from an impenetrable undergrowth of tangled creepers of many sorts. This forest is of the greatest value to the country, for it preserves the moistness of the atmosphere, without which it would be impossible to grow the most valuable and useful crops.

At intervals the forest has been cleared for the building of a village, for which, perhaps, one has been prepared by noticing that in patches the undergrowth of the forest has been replaced by cultivated crops, cocoa, maize, yam, and so forth. These villages are but little better than the villages of primitive times. The walls of the houses are still built mainly of swish (sun-baked earth), though brick and concrete are coming into use. The native roof of wood shingles or thatch has been largely replaced by corrugated iron—no improvement from the æsthetic point of view, but perhaps more effective in keeping out the heavy rains. The officials of the sanitary department of the Government now insist upon a certain orderliness in the lay-out of the village, and on a certain degree of cleanliness and sanitation. One or other of the Christian Missions is usually represented by a building of some sort which can be identified by the cross on the roof-tree, and one may safely assume that a day-school is held in that building or in some other connected with it.

Crowds of the villagers come down to the station to greet the arrival of the train, and here the latest European fashions are much less in evidence than they were in Accra or Sekondi. The gay-coloured cloths, worn so gracefully by both men and women, are so much pleasanter to behold and so much more suited to the climate than our fashions, that it is a great pity so many of the better-educated Africans should think it necessary to imitate us in this matter.

At one of these village stations we pass the train coming the other way; this has to be carefully arranged because, except at the stations, there is only one track. It is narrow (one metre gauge) and very winding, so that it is impossible to travel at any great speed. There is a story to the effect that a snake once attempted to make the journey from Accra to Kumasi

along the railway track. It broke its back going round one of the bends! So, although we breakfasted in the dark and boarded the train soon after sunrise, it is near sunset when, very dirty and very tired, we arrive at Kumasi.

We have been travelling through the forest-country all the way, but in places we have had beautiful views of hills rising up above the general level, forest-clad to their summits except where they are too steep for the trees to find root-hold. The parts of this country which lie low about the streams and rivers are in the rainy season very swampy and most unhealthy, and the insects which breed in them have been responsible for the deaths of countless numbers of European pioneers, whether missionary, political, or commercial. But thanks to the increase in our knowledge of tropical diseases, Europeans do not now run the risks they did, although it is still necessary for them to take many precautions and to dose themselves well with quinine.

The forest country extends for some fifty miles north of Kumasi, where it suddenly changes into what is called "Savannah." This looks more English than the forest country, consisting, as it does, of clumps of trees about the size of our English trees, interspersed with patches of grass-land. The only feature which strongly suggests the tropics is the frequent occurrence of groups of fan-palms.

We can easily reach this country from Kumasi by motor-car along the Great North Road. This road stretches from Kumasi through the old market of Salaga and Tamale to Navrongo in the extreme north of our territory, and except in times of flood it is motorable all the way. In addition to this great road, English rule has resulted in the construction of many miles of motorable roads extending all over the country. In 1923 there were three thousand miles of such roads, and every year has seen an increase. In some places

they are only just motorable perhaps, but in the neighbourhood of the towns they are excellent. It is difficult to imagine, and impossible to describe, what this must mean to the people. It is safe, however, to assert that new and hitherto undreamt of needs are being fostered, and thus a stimulus is given to industry. It is no uncommon thing to hear a gramophone in quite remote villages. The young men are being attracted to the towns by the prospect of high wages, and, above all, a great desire is growing up for that measure of education which will enable them to take advantage of the new opportunities opening out before them.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the existing schools should be full to overflowing, and that there should be constant requests for the opening of new ones. In one year recently four great paramount chiefs sent in to our Mission at Kumasi formal requests for the opening of schools in their villages, but, alas, there were no teachers to send just then.

The schools of the country are almost all in the hands of the various Missions, helped by generous grants from the Government in return for compliance with the Government's "Code" and submission to Government inspection.

Under the guidance of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Governor of the Gold Coast Colony and its Dependencies from 1919 to 1927, the Government's educational policy has undergone very important modifications and developments. Whilst quantity is to be desired, quality is to be insisted on in the first place. There is great need for this, for much of the education given in the past has been very poor in quality; in some places "bush" schools have done a great deal of harm. Teaching has almost invariably been given through the medium of English, and that by teachers who have had but very little knowledge of it themselves. The result has necessarily been very unintelligent work and the

boys' time has been wasted in school, as it would not have been wasted had it been occupied in learning from their elders the arts and crafts and wisdom of their people. Under the new scheme the vernaculars are to form the basis of education, and the teaching of English is to be done gradually on the groundwork of the vernaculars. "Trade-schools," in which attention is chiefly paid to training the pupils in various useful crafts such as building and farming, have been established already in several places.

In the future religious teaching will not only be permitted in the Government schools, but will be definitely encouraged. The Government definitely endorses the opinion expressed by the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office that to give a modern education in Africa without a definitely religious foundation is to do more harm than good. It will, therefore, encourage Mission schools to the utmost and place emphasis on their extension, rather than on the multiplication of the Government schools.

The Prince of Wales's College at Achimota is perhaps the crowning achievement of Sir Gordon Guggisberg's educational policy. This college, starting with infant classes, hopes to work up to university standards. It has already taken over the important work of training teachers for the elementary schools, and the course of training has been increased from three to four years.

The education of girls is, as yet, far behind that of boys, since most of the parents seem to think it quite superfluous, if not harmful. This prejudice has, perhaps, been increased, if not created, by the visible results of the European education which has been given to some of their girls, who have returned to their homes with a decided disinclination to take their share in the household duties and with expensive tastes and

habits. But a course of training which will help the African girls to improve upon the domestic arts of their mothers, and which will, at the same time, train their minds so as to make them suitable companions for their educated husbands, is very much to be desired. This, too, we may hope for from the enlightened policy of the Government.

There are a certain number of schools of a higher grade in the towns on the coast, notably the two schools at Cape Coast Castle belonging to our own Mission, one for boys and the other for girls. St. Nicholas's Grammar School for boys was founded by Bishop Hamblyn, and has steadily prepared boys with considerable success for the local examinations of the English universities. It used to be called the "S.P.G. School," and the writer of this handbook was once greeted in a remote village in Ashanti by a young man who described himself as "an Esspeej boy." His house was the cleanest and smartest in the village, and was labelled with his name, "writ large," and the information—

"West Africa Navy Boy
Cost me £45 house."

He was very anxious that we should send a teacher to his village. The girls' school was founded by the present bishop in 1924, and is now under the care of Sisters of the Community of the Holy Paraclete, Whitby, who took charge in the autumn of 1926.

The medical and sanitary work of the Government also are already having their effect upon the lives of the people. There are resident medical and sanitary officers at all the great centres, and their work extends to the surrounding villages. There are also hospitals for natives as well as for Europeans in the large towns, and that at Accra is said to be the finest hospital in

Africa. It is certainly a fine building, and it is well equipped for dealing with the patients who throng it. Work among the women and children has already resulted in a considerable reduction in infant mortality, and this branch of the work was given a new development in 1925 when H.H. the Princess Marie Louise laid the foundation-stone of a children's hospital in Accra.

The Sanitary Department attends to the lay-out of the towns and villages, choosing new sites for those which are unhealthily placed, the draining of adjacent swamps, and the removal and destruction of refuse. Woe to the householder who should be found guilty of allowing an empty sardine tin to lie about his premises! It is difficult for the Africans to understand these things as yet, but public lectures on hygiene and public health are given from time to time, and, of course, these things are taught in the schools. Meanwhile they are beginning to have faith in the white man's "medicine," and it was interesting to watch the thousands waiting to be inoculated when "The Plague" paid a visit to Kumasi. A boy once came to the Mission house at Kumasi and asked for some of the father's "purple medicine"—potassium permanganate solution, used freely by the father for cuts and ulcers. When asked what was the matter, he replied, "Please, Father, I've got a headache." He was given aspirin, and went away happy an hour or so later.

There are "picture palaces," too, in the large towns, and their shows are very popular; Charlie Chaplin is as well known in Kumasi as in London. It is a matter for thankfulness that the Government exercises a careful censorship of the films, though perhaps it would be better still if this censorship were handed over to the Education Department. And perhaps when that is done other things too, notably books and papers, may be included.

It is clear, therefore, that the work of bringing our holy Faith to these people ought to be pressed forward with all possible speed. The old gibe to the effect that first comes the missionary with his Bible, and then the trader with his gin, and then inevitably the soldier with his gun, is ridiculously untrue of the Gold Coast and its Dependencies. Here the trader, with both gin and gun, was easily the first, and then the soldier; the missionary has not yet arrived in anything like adequate numbers. What has been done in the past in this matter must now be considered.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MISSION.

It was the custom of the Portuguese navigators to take with them on their voyages bands of missionaries with the avowed intention of winning for Christ the souls of those people whose territory they annexed to the Portuguese crown. It is, therefore, probable that the first Christian mission in the Diocese of Accra was a Portuguese one, if indeed, the French had not already forestalled them. But of such mission there is no trace beyond the bare fact, which does not prove anything, that "fetish" is a Portuguese word. But equally significant, or insignificant, is the fact that "ju-ju," a word frequently used to describe amulets and charms, is French. We come to firm ground in 1720 when the Royal African Company asked the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (founded only nineteen years before) to recommend suitable persons to act as chaplains at their fortified trading-stations (usually called "Factories"), of which Cape Coast Castle was

chief. In just over thirty years the Society found one man, the Rev. Thomas Thompson, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who set sail in 1751, arriving at Cape Coast in 1752, after doing some work in Gambia and Sierra Leone on his way out. He established several other stations on the coast besides Cape Coast and started a Fanti vocabulary. Most important of all he sent home three Fanti boys to be educated in England. In 1755 he was obliged to return to England by the break-down of his health.

Of the three boys sent to England two died, but the other, Philip Quacoe, was ordained deacon in 1765. He returned immediately to Cape Coast and laboured faithfully there until his death in 1816 at the age of seventy-five. During the whole of the time he was single-handed, and, at times, he did not receive the support he should have done from the Governor and other officials, though it is only fair to state that this was not always the case. On one occasion the Governor suspended him from his chaplaincy because, on the ground that he was in Holy Orders, he refused to take up arms in defence of the fort at Anamabu. On appeal to the home authorities, however, he was reinstated in such a way as to convey a distinct reproof to the too officious Governor. The report that before his death he lapsed into heathenism is absolutely without foundation. He was buried in the courtyard of Cape Coast Castle, and the African Company placed on his grave a memorial recording its "approbation of his long and faithful services."

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent four* Europeans in rapid succession to continue Quacoe's work. Three of these died as rapidly, and the fourth was obliged to return to England by failure of health. One of them, the Rev. R. Harold

* John Milum, *Thomas Birch Freeman*, page 21.

(1823-24), built the present church at Cape Coast; sufficiently ugly and unsuited to the climate, but nevertheless well-built and the first church of our Mission in the country.

The sterling value of Quacoe's work is shown by the permanence of its results. A school which he had founded and maintained within the walls of the castle was carried on after his death and is now the Government School. His pupils continued to meet together for mutual encouragement and for the study of the Sacred Scriptures. In their shepherdless condition they sought counsel of a Scottish trader, William Topp, and by his advice they formed a "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." This was in 1830 or 1831, some considerable time, that is, after the death of him to whose labours it was really due.

In course of time the members of this little society were scattered in various directions, their leader, William De Graft, settling at Dixcove as a trader. The remnant at Cape Coast, finding their supply of Bibles running short, appealed to De Graft to use his influence to obtain a fresh supply. In his turn De Graft applied to Captain Potter of the trading barque *Congo* who, as it turned out, was a devout and enthusiastic Wesleyan of Bristol. Potter took the matter up warmly and, on his return to England, communicated with the Wesleyan Missionary Society offering to take out a suitable man free of charge and to bring him back on the same terms should it be found impossible for him to settle and establish a mission in the country.

Thus the Wesleyans came to found their mission at Cape Coast in January, 1835, and again it was a story of broken health and death after death among the early missionaries. The first died within six months of landing; of the next four, two men and their wives, three died in a few weeks, and the fourth in about a year.

At this juncture—less than seven weeks after the total bereavement of the little mission—there arrived at Cape Coast a mulatto missionary, Thomas Birch Freeman, whose subsequent labours on the coast extended over half a century.

Freeman is, perhaps, chiefly remarkable as having been the first missionary to visit Kumasi. The call from this important capital had already come in the time of his predecessor, George O. Wrigley, one of whose flock had been living there for a time. He had been visited there by some of the royal princes with whom he had often prayed and discussed religious matters, and on Christmas Day, 1836, he had, by the request of the king, Osai Yao Akoto, conducted religious worship in the palace.

On January 30th, 1839, Freeman set out on his journey to Kumasi which he reached on April 1st following. The journey should have occupied only ten to fourteen days, but owing apparently to the fears of the king he was delayed for several weeks at Kwisá and again at Fumana. He had to make pretence of returning to the coast before he was permitted to proceed. His reception at Kumasi was not unkindly, however, but is perhaps best described in his own words:—

“At 2 p.m. a messenger arrived from the king requesting me to proceed as early as possible. I immediately dressed myself, and while doing so three others arrived, each bearing a golden sword, requesting me to hasten forward. I then advanced towards the town, preceded by the messengers and some soldiers bearing arms.

“Having reached the outskirts we halted under a large tree, and there waited for another royal invitation. In a short time His Majesty’s chief linguist, the Apoko, came in a palanquin, shaded by an immense umbrella, and accompanied by

messengers bearing canes nearly covered with gold. These took charge of my luggage, and saw it safely lodged in the residence intended for me. All this being properly arranged, another messenger arrived, accompanied by troops and men bearing large umbrellas. I was requested to proceed to the market-place. 'The king's commandment' being 'urgent' we pushed along with speed, preceded by a band of music.

"As soon as we arrived at the market-place I got out of my travelling-chair. Walking through the midst of an immense concourse of persons, a narrow path being kept clear for me, I paid my respects to the king, his numerous chiefs and captains. These were seated on wooden chairs, richly decorated with brass and gold, and under the shade of splendid umbrellas, some of them large enough to screen twelve or fourteen persons from the burning rays of the sun. These state umbrellas were crowned with images of beasts and various devices and covered with gold. Round about the king and the chiefs were the native troops and a multitude of attendants, lending impressiveness to the ceremony.

"I was occupied for half an hour in walking slowly through the midst of this immense assembly, touching my hat and waving my hand, except before the king. In his presence I, of course, stood for a moment uncovered. I then took my seat at a distance, accompanied by my people and several respectable Fanti traders who were staying in the town. Here, according to the usual custom, we received the return compliments of the king.

"After I was seated the immense mass began to be in motion. Many of the chiefs first passed me in succession, accompanied by their numerous retinue.

Some of them cordially shook me by the hand. Then came the officers of the king's household attended by their people. Some bore on their heads massive pieces of silver plate, others carried in their hands gold swords and canes, native chairs and buffets neatly carved and almost covered with gold and silver, and tobacco pipes richly decorated with the same precious materials.

"Amidst this ostentatious display I saw what was calculated to harrow up the strongest and most painful feelings. The royal executioners displayed the blood-stained stools on which hundreds, perhaps thousands, of human victims have been sacrificed by decapitation. They also carried the large *death-drum*, which is beaten at the moment when the fatal knife severs the head from the body, the very sound of which conveys a thrill of horror. This rude instrument, connected with which are most dreadful associations, was literally covered with dried clots of blood, and decorated with the jaw-bones and skulls of human victims.

"Then followed the king, Kwaku Duah, under the shade of three splendid umbrellas, the cloth of which was silk-velvet of different colours. These were supported by some of his numerous attendants. The display of gold which I witnessed as His Majesty passed was astonishing.

"After the king followed other chiefs, and lastly the main body of the troops. This immense procession occupied an hour and a half in passing. There were several Moors in the procession, but they made by no means a conspicuous appearance. I suppose the number of persons which I saw collected together exceeded forty thousand, including a great number of females. The wrists of some of the chiefs were so heavily laden with golden

ornaments that they rested their arms on the shoulders of some of their attendants. The appearance of the procession was exceedingly grand and imposing."*

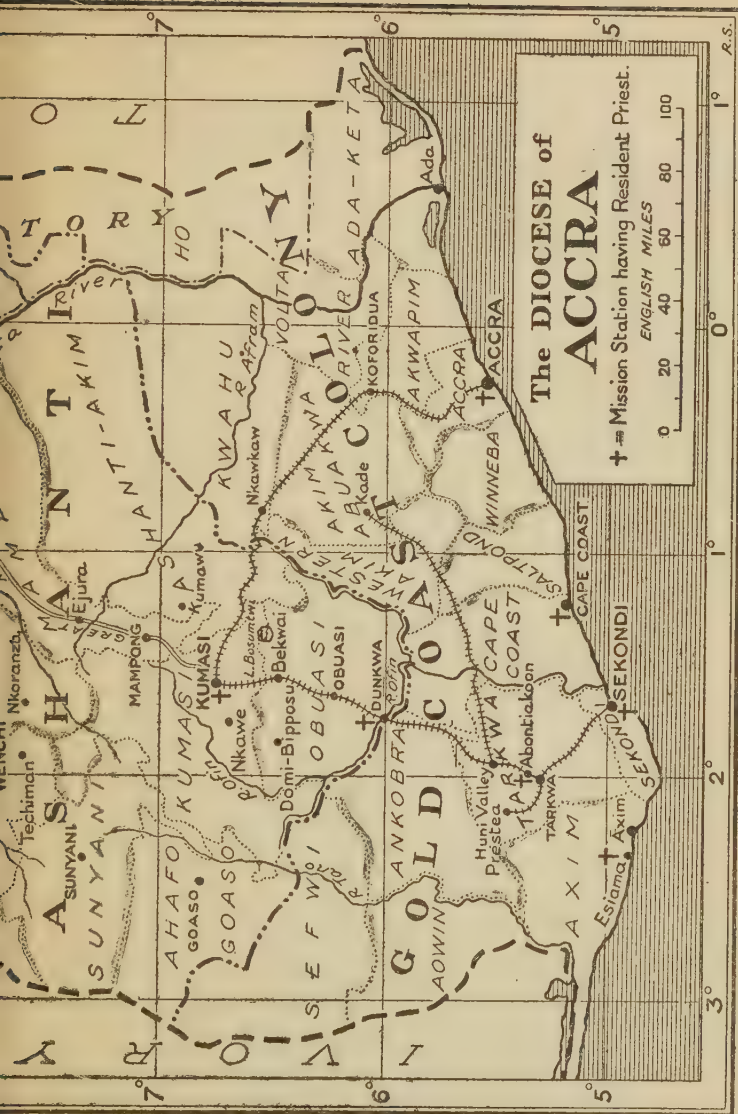
For some days owing to the celebration of some funeral custom Freeman was not allowed to leave his quarters, but when he was allowed to examine the town he found the streets large and clean with a breadth in some instances of thirty yards. Some of the streets were shaded by banyan trees. The houses of the chief inhabitants had open fronts carved and beautifully polished with red ochre. The floors were raised some two or three feet above the ground level and served as the reception room for callers, the more private apartments being behind. The on-coming of the rainy season obliged Freeman to cut short his visit to Kumasi by the middle of April. The king's farewell message declined to give an immediate answer to Freeman's request for permission to establish a mission in Kumasi, but promised to consider the matter and invited Freeman to come again after the rains, or to send a messenger. By dint of pressing urgently forward the return journey was accomplished in eight days.

The next visit to Kumasi was in November, 1841. He had been in England meanwhile pleading the cause of his mission and gathering together funds and personnel for the extension of the work. He brought back also with him "a suitable carriage" as a present from the Wesleyan Missionary Society to the King of Ashanti. It was arranged also that he should take with him to Kumasi the two young princes, Ossoo Ansah and Ossoo In Quantamissah, who had been handed over as hostages under the treaty of 1831,† and had been sent to England to be educated. In Quantamissah died soon

* John Milum, *Thomas Birch Freeman*, pages 57 ff.

† Sir Francis Fuller, *A Vanished Dynasty*, page 80.





The DIOCESE of
ACCRA
† = Mission Station having Resident Priest.

ENGLISH MILES
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after his return, but Ansah was destined to play an important part in the subsequent history of his country.*

But most important of all from our present point of view, Freeman was accompanied by Robert Brooking, who was to take up the dangerous but most honourable duty of first resident missionary in Kumasi. Owing to the presence of the two princes with their large retinues, and owing also to the curiosity aroused by the "suitable carriage," the journey this time was something of a triumphal progress and the reception of the party by the king extremely cordial. During the course of his visit Freeman secured the King's promise of protection for the mission and a gift of land on which to build a mission house,† and when he left, Brooking remained behind.

The Basel Mission Society had sent missionaries to Christiansborg (near Accra) in 1827, but all had died except one who returned to Europe in 1833. A fresh start was made in 1843 under the auspices of the Danish Government and it now has branches all over the Eastern Province of the Colony and in Ashanti. In 1847 the Bremen or North German Mission founded its work in the Colony and has a number of stations to the east of the Volta River. Since the war until recently the work of the Basel Mission was taken over by the United Free Church of Scotland, and the Scottish Mission (with the help of the Government) was responsible for carrying on the schools of the Bremen Mission.

The Roman Catholics founded a mission in Elmina in 1881 and have since spread to many other towns on the coast and to Ashanti also.

Meanwhile, except for the voluntary extension of their labours by a few of the chaplains sent out by the African Company and later by the Government, the Church of England was doing nothing. The Gold Coast was first attached to the Diocese of Sierra Leone, but

* Sir Francis Fuller, *A Vanished Dynasty*, page 82.

† John Milum, *Thomas Birch Freeman*, page 86.

in 1898 it was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa. The bishops of both these districts had more work than they could accomplish close at home, so it is no wonder that the Gold Coast, several days' sail away, should have been neglected. But the growing interest in the country due to the annexation of Ashanti and the Northern Territories to the development of trade and to the opening of the gold mines led to appeals being made first to the Church Missionary Society, then to the Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa, and finally to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus it came about that in 1904 Archdeacon Hamlyn, of Lagos, was consecrated as Assistant Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa with charge of the Gold Coast and its hinterland. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel undertook to support the venture and so the work that had been lying fallow for eighty years was resumed. In 1909 this jurisdiction was made a separate diocese with Accra as its see-city.

Although Accra was the seat of the Government and possessed a beautiful (but unsuitably designed) church, and although Cape Coast Castle was the scene of the first work of our church in the diocese, Bishop Hamlyn fixed his head-quarters at Sekondi. At that time this was perhaps a wise decision: Sekondi was much the busiest port on the coast and from it a railway ran all the way to Kumasi through the important mining districts of Tarkwa and Obuasi.

Here there was already a tiny church built by a colony of Yorubas, and here he set to work to build a small bungalow with a church underneath it. This house and church are still in use, but in spite of some enlargement the congregations overflow the church and fill, often enough, the surrounding verandah. The Bishop travelled much through the towns and villages on the coast and near the railway, holding services in the court houses so readily placed at his disposal by the

political officers. The number of baptisms and confirmations grew rapidly and by-and-by little churches of swish or bamboo were built in some of the villages.

The staff of the Mission grew, too, and it was possible to maintain regular services in the churches at Accra, Cape Coast, and in the court-house at Tarkwa. A bungalow was rented as a permanent home for a Mission priest at Abontiakoon and a Mission was started at Axim, at first under the charge of a layman, but later under a priest. Nsawam, a great cocoa-growing centre in the east of the colony, had its little congregation and its tiny church and even in far-away Bibiani there was a catechist and a school. Kumasi received an occasional visit from the Bishop and a site was secured for the building of a church. Work was started also among the women at Sekondi by two ladies who had joined the staff of the Mission for that purpose.

Everybody was full of hope for the future of the Mission and great schemes were in the air when blow after blow fell upon it. Once more the deadly climate was the chief cause. The Bishop himself and three English members of his staff were invalidated home, one left, and it was impossible to find men to take their places. For more than two years the diocese was without a Bishop of its own, and in 1912 there were only three priests at work, the furloughs of all of them being dangerously overdue.

Three priests in England volunteered to go out and to try to carry on the work. Within a month one of them, the Rev. G. H. Lees, was down with dysentery and he died after a month in hospital. He was buried in the cemetery at Sekondi and the congregation there, realizing that he had given his life for them, insisted on putting up a tablet to his memory at their own expense. A week after his death another priest was on his way home and the diocese was left with only one priest and a growing shortage of native help.

In 1911 Bishop Mather, formerly of Antigua, had volunteered to take temporary charge of the diocese. He stayed out for some five months administering confirmation and so on. Again, at the end of 1912, when the diocese was in danger of being left without a priest at all, he went out, but was very soon sent home again by the doctors, sorely against his will. Once more the diocese was left with only one priest.

CHAPTER V.

LATER HISTORY OF THE MISSION.

In 1913 the Rev. Stephen O'Rorke was consecrated Bishop and took charge of the diocese. He saw very clearly that the only way of dealing satisfactorily with the difficulties of his diocese was to provide it as soon as possible with a native clergy, and indeed he had the outline of a scheme in his mind before he left England to take up his new duties. To help him in the development of this scheme the Rev. G. W. Morrison joined him in the October of the same year.

Mr. Morrison, however, soon abandoned this work in order to devote himself more completely to direct Mission work. He took charge of Kumasi, subsequently becoming Archdeacon of that place, and it is by his work here that he will be chiefly remembered. He worked at Kumasi for six or seven years, during which time St. Cyprian's Church was built, as well as a large Mission house, schools, and a hostel for the teachers. Several out-stations, worked from Kumasi, were also established.

St. Cyprian's Church was planned on a generous scale, and is capable of holding five or six hundred people according to English ways of reckoning; twice

that number of Africans would cheerfully crowd themselves into it. It is chiefly remarkable for the fact that it has no side walls except in the chancel, and even here they are pierced by large unglazed windows. This openness is much commended by the sanitary authorities, and it has been adopted in some of the public buildings, such as the court-houses erected by the Government officials. It certainly serves to mitigate the almost intolerable heat. When the rain drives through, things—and people—get wet, but that does not happen very often and they soon get dry again. The nave of the church is used for the upper school on weekdays, when the chancel is completely screened off; the latter is large enough to afford ample room for the weekday services. After the closing of the school on Friday afternoon the chancel is once more opened out, and then almost immediately is held the "Friday class." This is a great institution all through the diocese, and to it come great numbers who are already communicants for further instruction on various aspects of their religion.

The Mission house is a two-storeyed building—of native brick like the church. The upper floor provides accommodation for two or three white priests, and it has been known to house even five at once. All the rooms open on to a wide verandah which runs round three sides of the building, and which is the favourite sitting-room, except when violent winds drive the rain all across it. The ground floor, besides housing the domestic staff of the missionaries, now contains a small, but very useful, printing press—the first, and still the only one, in Ashanti. The kitchen, of course, as in all houses built for Europeans in this country, is a separate building. It used to be a corrugated iron structure until this was gently, but firmly and utterly, condemned by the sanitary authorities. There is now a substantial, though not very large, brick building,

which, with its corrugated-iron roof, feels nearly hot enough at times to cook the food without any fire.

Behind the Mission house, and forming with it the four sides of a large rectangle, are the teachers' hostel and what was once the infants' school, but is now the temporary home of the theological college of the diocese. These are built of swish, and are roofed with the almost inevitable corrugated iron. Some of the rooms are ceiled with wood and have cement floors, but the others have only earthen floors and no ceilings. Across the middle of the compound, and joining the two side ranges of buildings, thus dividing the compound into two, is another room of the same kind, obviously built at a later date to provide more accommodation for the school.

One of the out-stations, perhaps the oldest, is at Domi Bipposu, some thirty miles south-west of Kumasi. Even as late as 1924 it was possible to reach this place only by a long day's trek, or a more comfortable two days' trek through the forest. There was in course of construction a motor-road to Mansu-Nkwanta, which, when it is finished, will leave only some seven miles to be accomplished on foot. Domi is by no means a large or important village, and one wonders that it should have received the Faith so early in the history of the Mission in Ashanti. The mystery is solved, however, when one learns that one of our people from the coast settled there, taught some of his neighbours, and sent to Kumasi for a priest to come and administer baptism. There are now stations dependent on Domi Bipposu in many of the villages in the neighbourhood, which are visited regularly by the catechist in charge of Domi and occasionally by a priest from Kumasi.

It might be of interest to record here a problem which was brought to the visiting priest on the occasion of one of his visits to Domi. The case arose in this

way : It appears that the fish living in the stream near the village where the people get their water are regarded as sacred, and are so tame that they often swim into the vessels when these are immersed in the stream. A member of our Christian flock had captured and "chopped" (eaten) some of these fish, and had in consequence been fined eighteen-pence in the chief's court. He had refused to pay the fine, claiming Christian privilege, and the case was therefore held over pending the next visit of a priest.

The chief was away when the priest happened to arrive, but his sub-chief acted for him, and he with other elders of the village and the priest sat side by side to hear and decide the case. The offence was admitted, so there was no need to hear evidence; it was just a matter of adjusting the inevitable clash between pagan and Christian custom; but most of the village was present to hear what was said.

After considering the statements made with regard to the sacredness of the fish, and the ways in which those who appreciated that sacredness dealt with the too-familiar creatures, the priest decided that Christian people were to follow the local custom in the matter; the fine, therefore, must be paid, but since the defendant had acted in all good faith, the priest himself, *on that occasion only*, would pay the fine.

In all probability the fine would in part go to the cost of some sacrifice to the offended god, but what else could be done? The sub-chief and elders had just been persuaded to promise that all pigs should be removed from the village on the ground that they destroyed the fence protecting the Christian cemetery! A suggestion to the effect that the Christians should be provided with a separate watering-place where the fish were not sacred was vetoed on the ground that the common life of the village should not be destroyed on such a slender pretext.

Another interesting case was heard before chief and priest on this same occasion. A Christian mother desired her child to be baptized, but the father, who was a lapsed Christian, refused his consent. The priest appealed to the chief on the question of the man's right in such a matter, since children are regarded as belonging to the mother's family. He ruled that the father had some right in this matter, and this ruling was probably correctly based on the undoubted rights of the father in the matter of the naming of his off-spring. Left to himself the priest ruled that the child must be baptized that night or the father "would hear what he (the priest) had to say further about the matter." The priest must have looked very fierce, or his words must have been given a very sinister twist in the vernacular, for the father, looking very scared and weak at the knees, gave way, and the child was duly baptized that night.

The work of training a native ministry was taken up again in 1916 by the Rev. E. F. H. Thomas, who, as it were, carried his college about with him, for as yet there was no suitable home for it. First at Tarkwa and then at Cape Coast he laboured, and succeeded in preparing two candidates for ordination. One of Archdeacon Morrison's pupils also was subsequently ordained. Mr. Thomas was unable to return to the diocese after his first furlough, and once more the work of providing a native clergy came to an end.

In January, 1920, at the earliest possible date after the conclusion of the Great War, a Diocesan Conference was held, at which it was decided that the future theological college should be built at Kumasi and should be dedicated to St. Augustine of Hippo. A committee of Kumasi people, with Archdeacon Morrison as its chairman was appointed to forward the scheme.

The labours of this committee resulted in securing the long lease of a piece of ground, well situated just outside Kumasi and about fourteen acres in extent. Plans for the proposed buildings were also drawn up, but these have since been abandoned as being inadequate. The site has now been included in the Kumasi town area, so that any buildings built on it will have to conform with the building regulations in force, and will, in consequence, be very costly.

Archdeacon Morrison was obliged to give up his work in the diocese shortly after this, and, there being no other priest available to take his place, the scheme fell once more into abeyance. Indeed for two years or more Kumasi received only occasional visits from a priest or from the Bishop himself to baptize and to give Holy Communion. The congregation was held together, and such services as were possible were provided, by lay-readers, who were also teachers in the day-schools.

When on furlough in England in 1923 the Bishop paid a visit to the Benedictine Community, then living at Pershore (but now at Nashdom Abbey, Burnham, in Buckinghamshire), and while there was impelled to ask the Community to take over the charge of the Mission at Kumasi. This the Community consented to do, and two priests were sent out early in the following year and were able to press forward rapidly with the development of the work, both in Kumasi itself and in the surrounding country.

In the following year Bishop O'Rorke was obliged, for reasons of health, to relinquish his charge. His episcopate had been a very memorable one in many ways; it had extended over ten years, and had included the whole period of the Great War. This fact in itself had rendered even more difficult the already sufficiently difficult task of providing a suitable staff for the diocese. Building was, by the request of the

Government, at a standstill, and passages to and from England were lengthy and dangerous. Nevertheless, a strong and vigorous centre of Mission work had been firmly established in the very important centre at Kumasi; a *liaison* had been established with the Benedictine Community, which now sets aside four of its members for the work of the diocese, whilst two others do frequent "deputation work" in England; and a definite and important step had been taken towards the establishment of St. Augustine's College, and a certain amount of money collected for it. Attempts had been made also to settle by synodical decision some of the exceedingly difficult problems that face Christian mission-work in a country where customs are so widely different from those which have obtained for centuries in Europe. These questions arise especially, but not exclusively, from the prevalent polygamy, but they crop up in most unexpected ways and places.

Bishop O'Rorke's successor in the episcopate was the Rev. John Aglionby, who was consecrated on the Feast of the Purification, 1924. He sailed for his diocese almost immediately, and found on his arrival a staff consisting of an English priest at Accra, the two Benedictine Fathers at Kumasi, three African priests, and one African deacon. The furloughs of all three English priests were due, and one of the Benedictines and the secular priest were sent off at once; the latter was forbidden by his doctors to return.

The need for increasing the African staff of the Mission was at once obvious, and as soon as he had time to settle in, the new Bishop determined to revive the old scheme for building a theological college at Kumasi. But he did not wait for this to be accomplished before starting the work of training candidates for the ministry. The old infants' school at Kumasi had been condemned by the Education Authorities as

unfit for use as a school, and it occurred to the Bishop that with some adaptations it might serve as a temporary home for St. Augustine's College. The building of a new school for the "infants" (some of them are fourteen or fifteen years old) was, therefore, immediately taken in hand, and an urgent request was sent to the Benedictine Community at home asking them to spare another of their Fathers as rector of the college. This request was granted and the new rector arrived on the coast in October of that same year, 1924. The "infants" left their old home at Christmas, and by the end of January, 1925, St. Augustine's College was in possession and the work of training was in progress. There were some dozen students in residence—as many as the buildings would hold—and they soon settled down to the ordered life and study of a theological college. A vice-rector, also a member of the Benedictine Community, joined the staff at Easter, bringing the number of Benedictines on the diocesan staff up to the four already mentioned.

The students were divided into two groups: the smaller group consisted of young men who had only recently passed the seventh standard in the elementary schools; the other group consisted of older men who had had some further education after leaving the elementary schools, mostly as teachers. The junior group will need two or three years' more training than the seniors, but in spite of the extra expense involved, it will be worth while in future to recruit from the junior rather than from the senior type. Steadiness of character is not a marked virtue among these Africans, and so the discipline of the longer period of training is very much to be desired. The first ordinations were to have taken place early in 1927, but the Bishop's sudden illness drove him home to England without any delay, and his intended visit to the college was therefore postponed. Five of the students were, however,

ordained to the diaconate on the Feast of St. Michael, 1927, and another three months later. All six were raised to the priesthood in March, 1928.

Bishop Aglionby, reversing the policy of his predecessor, from the very first made his headquarters at his see-city, Accra. The completion of the railway from Accra to Kumasi in 1923 had made Accra almost, if not quite, as good a centre for travelling as Sekondi, and it is a great convenience for the Bishop to be in close touch with the Government. This is rendered desirable chiefly because of the close co-ordination that exists, and is carefully fostered by the Government, between the various Missions and the Board of Education.

The Church of the Holy Trinity at Accra is, too, the worthiest building in the diocese to serve as a pro-cathedral. It is a fine stone building, but, as has already been hinted, it is not suitably designed for the African climate; it has, for example, been found necessary to take the glass out of nearly all the windows and to insert great ventilators in the walls. It was built primarily for the use of the Government officials and the English traders, and at the Government's expense. When the custom of providing Government chaplains was abandoned, the church was given to the diocese on condition that it was kept in repair and that a certain number of seats were reserved for the use of Europeans. Along with the church the chaplain's bungalow was handed over, and this is now the episcopal "palace." It is far from suggesting a palace, either in size or appearance, but it is very pleasantly situated overlooking the sea, and is only a few yards away from the church. There is also another church in Accra, St. Mary's, which is intended for the use of Ga-speaking people, and for the use of its congregation parts of the Book of Common Prayer have already been translated into Ga.

Attached to this church is a day-school, which it has recently been found necessary to enlarge. Some day, perhaps, it will be possible to build a suitable cathedral in Accra, which by its size and beauty shall fittingly symbolize the truth and glory of the Catholic Faith.

The Bishop's settling at Accra involved a certain re-arrangement of staff; one of the Benedictine Fathers from Kumasi was placed in charge of Cape Coast, and the Rev. F. L. Sugget, coming out with the Bishop after his first furlough, was made Archdeacon of Sekondi and given charge of that district. One of the African priests was stationed at Accra to assist the Bishop at Holy Trinity, and to take charge of St. Mary's and the out-stations.

In the political world there have been recent happenings which have had a considerable reflex effect upon our Mission. When Ashanti was invaded in 1896, the Emperor, Prempeh, with the Queen-mother and the important officials of his court, was taken prisoner and exiled in the Seychelles Islands. In response to the united request of many of his old chiefs and the English missionaries, the Government, in 1924, permitted them all to return to Kumasi, not, it is true, in their old official capacities, but as private citizens. Many of them, including Prempeh himself, came back Christians and members of our Communion. Prempeh seemed to have lost none of his influence among his own people, and the effect of his regular practice of his religion had an immediate effect throughout Ashanti. Now that he is re-installed as "Paramount Chief" of Kumasi (though not as Emperor of Ashanti), he will have an even greater influence. That he is sincerely desirous of the spread of Christianity among his own people is evidenced by the fact that immediately on his return all the members of his family who were not yet Christians were commanded to put themselves immediately under instruction for baptism.

The thanksgiving service held soon after Prempeh's return was robbed of much of its impressiveness by the fact that it had been postponed owing to an epidemic of bubonic plague. But on the first anniversary of his return, at Prempeh's own request, another thanksgiving service was held which was a sight never to be forgotten. The church was filled to suffocation, in spite of its open sides, and there remained outside a far greater crowd than that within. By the request of the Government officials the great chiefs had not been invited, though two of them very cleverly contrived to be in Kumasi on other business and attended in state. What the crowd would have been like if this precaution had not been taken it is impossible to imagine. Although in all probability the greater part of the congregation was pagan, its quiet and reverence were such as to put some English congregations to shame. The Seriki of the Zongo was there, having arrived in a Ford motor-car, the door of which was boldly inscribed in white paint "15-cwt."; he politely (but obviously for politeness' sake) informed the priest-in-charge that it was really his desire to attend church every Sunday, but that he was prevented by pressure of business. He is, of course, a Mohammedan. Prempeh arrived only an hour and a half late, but that is the polite thing in Ashanti; it gives lesser folk an opportunity of being in time without undue exertion. He came in a rickshaw, looking very imposing in his blue silk-brocade cloth, gold bracelets, and gold chains.

Then again on the Good Friday following Prempeh's return from exile the Prince of Wales came to Kumasi, where his first public act was to attend Divine Service in St. Cyprian's Church. All Ashanti was in Kumasi to greet the Prince, and all Ashanti therefore was aware of his visit to the church and was duly impressed. The Prince spent Easter at Accra and received his Easter Communion at Holy Trinity Church, the

celebrant being the African priest stationed there. It is said that the report of this spread all through Africa and stirred the African soul to its depth. The Princess Marie Louise made her now famous tour* through the diocese shortly after and openly showed her attachment to our Church, thus confirming the impression already created by the Prince of Wales.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PRESENT POSITION.

It will have become clear to those who have read thus far that the time is ripe for pressing forward with all speed the work of Christianizing the peoples of this diocese. The Mission of our own Church has a peculiarly favourable opportunity at the present moment, both in Ashanti and in the Northern Territories. In the colony, perhaps, as the Bishop recently pointed out, our work must be chiefly confined to consolidating what has already been begun, for the missions of other Christian bodies have already occupied most of the field. But the other two divisions of the diocese offer boundless opportunities and require only that men and women, with the necessary financial support, should be forthcoming in order to make very rapid advance. The future is bright with promise, but it is a promise conditional upon the devotion and activity of the Church at home.

It is impossible to forecast the results of neglecting the present opportunity. In fifteen years, or even ten, the task will be very different from what it is now. Instead of a people naturally simple and almost child-like we shall have a people commercialized and sophisticated; instead of a people accustomed to think of, and

* See H.H. The Princess Marie Louise, *Letters from the Gold Coast*.

to reckon with, spiritual realities, we shall have a people whose minds are coarsened by the materialism of the civilization which is being more and more thrust upon them; instead of a people accustomed to bend their wills to the sanctions of spiritual authority we shall have a people who obey only when it is to their own interest to do so.

On the other hand, it is perhaps not too much to hope that when these people have once accepted the Faith for themselves they will be eager to carry it to others. The dominating energy of the Ashantis, the colonizing instinct of the Fantis, and the wandering propensities of the Hausas and of some of the peoples of the Northern Territories have in them the possibility, if not the definite promise, of much missionary activity. Just as England in the early centuries of its Christianity provided a constant stream of missionaries for Scandinavia and the Netherlands so we may hope that what is now the Diocese of Accra may, in the years to come, be the means whereby the Gospel will be carried all through the Sudan and into the interior parts of Africa to which it is so difficult for the white man to penetrate.

Among the many urgent needs perhaps the most urgent at the moment is the provision of permanent buildings for St. Augustine's College. Less than a quarter of the total sum needed for these is in hand at the moment of writing, but even so a start has been made this year with some small part of the plan. This has been made possible chiefly by two large gifts, one from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the other from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, besides the gift of the chapel already mentioned. Countless sums from people, rich and poor, have gone to make up the remainder, and the great and very real charity thus shown must, in the providence of God, have a considerable influence on the work of the college. Fortunately the plans provide not for the sort of college

buildings to which one is accustomed in Oxford or Cambridge, but for a number of cottages grouped round the chapel and the lecture rooms. The cottages are intended for only eight students each and it is hoped to build as many as nine eventually, but for the present two must suffice and even these will allow for some increase on the present number of students. It is thought that this arrangement of small cottages will prove healthier than the more usual type of building.

The open sides of St. Cyprian's Church provided the inspiration for the design of the chapel; the only walls are to be the one behind the altar and those enclosing the sacristy. For the rest, open semi-circular arches, to be filled later on with wrought iron grills, will admit both air and light. The cost of building this chapel has been provided by the parish of St. Peter, Swinton, Manchester, as a thank-offering on the occasion of the church's jubilee. The worthy furnishing of the chapel with all that is necessary (over and above what has already been provided for use in the temporary chapel) will be—and indeed should be—a costly matter.

The maintenance of all the present students in the college is provided for, at the rate of £30 per head per annum, by various societies, parishes, and individuals in England. The Rector and Vice-Rector are unprovided for, and their stipends make a large demand upon the slender diocesan pocket. The endowment of these two offices either permanently or for a period of years would be a great relief to the Bishop.

There will be no difficulty in finding posts for the newly ordained priests as they leave the college; literally dozens of places are crying aloud for a resident priest. But for some years to come their stipends will have to be guaranteed. The rule of the diocese is that native priests shall be paid their stipends by their own congregations and so, in time, a self-supporting church will be built up. But until the congregations have been

formed and taught this primary Christian duty it is clearly necessary to provide for the priests in some other way. It is matter for thankfulness that the stipends of some of the six who have just passed out from the college have been promised by friends in England, but there is room for more such promises. The departure of these students will leave a corresponding number of vacancies in the college to be filled by new students as yet unprovided for.

Both St. Nicholas' Grammar School and the Girls' School at Cape Coast are wretchedly housed. The boys of the Grammar School woke up one stormy morning recently to find the roof of one of their buildings deposited in the market-place. This means, of course, that new schools ought to be built as soon as possible, and it is desirable that the girls' school at any rate should be moved to a better part of the town.

It is time, too, to make a start with a Grammar School at Kumasi. As it is there is no education higher than that of the elementary schools to be obtained except on the coast, and many who could take advantage of a grammar school at Kumasi are unable to face the cost of travelling and board entailed by going to Cape Coast or Accra.

Mention of the Girls' School at Cape Coast leads naturally to the consideration of general mission-work among the women of the diocese. Here especially there is need of great development; everywhere the number of Christian men exceeds that of Christian women. When it is remembered that the schools are training hundreds of Christian boys who will soon grow up to marriageable age, and that there is no corresponding "output" of Christian girls it will be seen how urgent this problem is. At present the best that can be done is to insist that when a Christian man desires to marry, the woman of his (or his family's) choice shall enter the catechumenate before the marriage takes place. The

stability of the work that has been, and is being, done will depend, in large measure, upon the way in which this part of the work is dealt with in the next few years. The Sisters of the Holy Paraclete, as has already been pointed out, have made a start at Cape Coast, but all that they can do touches only the fringe of the problem.

It is not suggested that our Mission should try to develop, at present, elementary girls' schools similar to the English type; the experience of the Government's girls' schools seems to show that the country is not yet ready for this. Women and girls show themselves no less willing than the men and boys to receive the Christian faith and it is here that the need for women missionaries clamours so loudly. Ideally there should be a house of Sisters in at least four of the towns with no less than four Sisters attached to each house. This would secure vigorous centres of work among the women and the results would soon be manifest; many of the girls so trained would be taken, after marriage, to live in the villages and would there spread abroad among their neighbours the benefits they had themselves received.

This survey of "The Present Position" seems to have become scarcely more than an exposition of need after need. But this is perhaps not surprising where there is so much to be done and so little means at hand for doing it. And even so what is perhaps the most urgent need of all, with the single exception of St. Augustine's College, yet remains to be pointed out. The Northern Territories, that is the whole northern half of the diocese, are as yet almost untouched. Away in the extreme north the "White Fathers" have had a station at Navrongo for the last nineteen years, but *they are the only missionaries in the country*, which is nearly as large as England.

Here, too, no less than in Ashanti and the Colony, the future is pregnant with change. Already a number

of the men leave their homes for periods of work in the mines and elsewhere and returning bring with them tales of the wonders they have seen and of the marvels they have heard. And there is, also, the immediate prospect of very considerable commercial development in the country itself. Meanwhile, Mohammedanism is rapidly extending and strengthening its hold. It is very necessary, therefore, that our Mission should establish stations at the earliest possible moment.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is doing all it can: the block grant for 1928 was £2,961 besides the grant of £500 for the building of St. Augustine's College already mentioned. But its purse is none too full in these days and it has many other claims to meet, all, no doubt, represented by the claimants as being of the utmost urgency. Its present income is almost all required for work to which the Society is already committed, and so special efforts are needed for meeting new needs such as are arising in the Diocese of Accra.

Men and money, women and money, and then more money are badly and most urgently needed. And surely it is not too much to ask of English people that they should provide for these needs seeing that for generations English merchants battered and grew fat on the slave trade which they carried on in this part of Africa with all the atrocities of which we have heard, and with many others so horrible as to be unspeakable. If English people would only remember the sacrifices made by the first missionaries to this land and the benefits they have received thereby; if above all they would recall our Lord's command to preach the Gospel to every creature, they would give so generously that the present opportunities could be utilized to the full with the result that the whole country would be Christian in a few generations. May God, for his glory's sake, prosper the work.

APPENDIX · I.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER STUDY.

A. The following books may be borrowed from the S.P.G. Lending Library (15 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W. 1):—

A Vanished Dynasty, Ashanti. By Sir F. C. Fuller. (Murray, 1921. 16s.)

West African Studies. By Mary Kingsley. (Macmillan, 1901.)

Visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to the Gold Coast Colony, 1925. Published by authority of His Excellency, Sir F. Gordon Guggisberg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E. (5s.) (Useful for its wealth of beautiful pictures.)

Nine Years at the Gold Coast. By D. Kemp. (Macmillan, 1898.)

Thomas Birch Freeman. By John Milum. (Partridge, 5s. 6d.)

History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti. By W. W. Claridge. (J. Murray. 2 vols., 1915. 36s.)

A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa. By Colonel A. B. Ellis. (Chapman and Hall, 1893.)

The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the West Coast of Africa. By Colonel A. B. Ellis. (Chapman and Hall, 1887.)

Gold Coast Native Institutions. By C. Hayford. (Sivert and Maxwell, 1903. 6s. 6d.)

Ashanti. By R. S. Rattray. (Clarendon Press, 1923. 25s.)

Religion and Art in Ashanti. By R. S. Rattray. (Clarendon Press, 1926. 30s.) (These two books by Captain Rattray are most important for a study of the customs and religion of the Ashantis; another study by the same author is in preparation.)

Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.
By A. W. Cardinall. (Routledge. 12s. 6d.)

The Gold Coast Handbook, 1923. (Government Press, Accra. 7s. 6d.)

The Gold Coast, A Review of the Events of 1920-26.
By Sir F. G. Guggisberg, K.C.M.G. (Government Press, Accra, 1927.)

Report of the Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore's Visit to West Africa during 1926. (H.M. Stationery Office. 3s. 6d. net.)

A Mission from Cape Coast to Ashanti. By T. E. Bowdich. (Griffith and Farran, 1873.)

B. The following books are also useful; many of them are out of print, but can sometimes be picked up second-hand or seen in the public libraries:—

Our Days on the Gold Coast. By Lady Clifford. 1919.
Travels in Ashanti and Jaman. By R. A. Freeman. (1898.)

The Gold Coast, Past and Present. By G. Macdonald. (1898.)

Gold Coast Palaver and Life on the Gold Coast. By L. P. Bowler.

Dark and Stormy Days at Kumasi. From the Diary of the Rev. Fritz Ramseyer. (1901.)

The Siege of Kumasi. By Lady Hodgson. (1901.)
(Lady Hodgson and the Rev. Fritz Ramseyer were resident in Kumasi during the siege.)

History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti. By C. C. Reindorf. (Basel, 1895.)

The Golden Coast or a Description of Guinney. (London, 1665.)

Letters from the Gold Coast. By Her Highness the Princess Marie Louise. (Methuen, 1926. 16s.)

A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea.

By Willem Bosman. (English Translation, 2nd edition, 1721.)

The Land of Fetish. By Colonel A. B. Ellis. (1883.)

Fanti Customary Law. By J. M. Sarbah. (2nd edition, 1904.)

Report on the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.

By H. P. Northcott. (War Office, London, 1899.)

Journal of a Residence in Ashanti. By J. Dupuis. (1824.)

Narrative of the Ashantee War. By Sir Henry Brackenbury. (1874.)

Coomassie and Magdala. By Henry M. Stanley. 1874.

The Ashanti Campaign of 1900. By Captain C. H. Armitage and Lieut.-Colonel A. F. Montanaro.

The Relief of Kumasi. By Captain H. C. J. Biss. (1901.)

The Downfall of Prempeh. By Major-General R. S. S. Baden-Powell. (Methuen, 1900.)

C. Periodicals.

The Gold Coast Review. (Government Press, Accra.)

The Golden Shore. (The quarterly of the Accra Diocesan Association. Published at Hilden Grange, Tonbridge, Kent.)

APPENDIX II.

STAFF OF THE DIOCESE (1928).

Bishop: The Right Rev. John Orfeur Aglionby, D.D., M.C.

Archdeacon of Sekondi: The Ven. F. L. Sugget, M.C.

Accra: *The Rev. E. D. Martinson; *The Rev. E. F. O'Reilly; †The Rev. B. T. Quartey.

* African priests.

† African priests trained at St. Augustine's College.

- Axim* : *The Rev. J. B. C. Yalley.
Bekwai : †The Rev. J. F. Appiah.
Bodi : †The Rev. T. I. F. Asiedukofiawua.
Cape Coast : The Rev. Dom Dominic Carter, O.S.B.;
 Sister Lilla, O.H.P.; Sister Dorothy, O.H.P.;
 Sister Gertrude, O.H.P.; Sister Mabel, O.H.P.;
 Sister Gladys, O.H.P.
Dunkwa : *The Rev. O. M. Renner.
Koforidua : †The Rev. W. E. C. Yalley.
Kumasi : The Rev. Dom Peter Harris, O.S.B.; The
 Rev. Dom Bernard Clements, O.S.B.; †The Rev.
 A. M. Asare.
Sekondi : *The Rev. W. H. Mensah.
Tarkwa : *The Rev. C. H. Elliott.
Winnebah : †The Rev. S. A. C. Lutterodt.

APPENDIX III.

The following tables are given as showing briefly, but graphically and more plainly than mere words, the rapid development of the commerce of the Diocese of Accra in recent years. They are taken from *A Review of the Events of 1925-26*, by His Excellency Brigadier-General Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Governor of the Gold Coast and its Dependencies. Others from the same source could be given all demonstrating the same truth, but perhaps these, which are quite characteristic, are sufficient.

The diagram is given by the courtesy of Messrs. Cadbury Brothers, Ltd. It shows at a glance the truth of the statement made in the text that the Gold Coast and its Dependencies now provide nearly half the world's cocoa. In 1910 the proportion which came from the coast was less than one eighth of the world's total.

*African priests.

†African priests trained at St. Augustine's College.

TABLE I.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RAILWAYS.†

	1903.	1919.	1925.
Miles of line open ...	*124	269	394
Miles of line under construction	44	—	98
Tonnage carried ...	24,000	348,000	812,150
Revenue earned ...	£145,000	£672,000	£1,124,740
Passengers carried ...	90,000	1,223,000	1,525,930

*Sekondi to Obuasi.

TABLE II.

DEVELOPMENT OF MOTORABLE ROADS.†

1919	...	...	...	1,300 miles.
1926	...	...	...	4,734 miles.

TABLE III.

SUMMARY OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1921-25.†

Year.	Revenue.	Total Expenditure.	Surplus Revenue.
	£	£	£
1921-22 ...	3,016,521	3,284,975	- 268,454
1922-23 ...	3,357,196	2,934,994	+ 577,798
1923-24 ...	3,742,834	2,897,945	+ 844,889
1924-25 ...	3,971,187	3,361,611	+ 609,576

† See footnote on page 68.

TABLE IV.
DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE.†

Year.	Tonnage.			Value in Pounds Sterling.		
	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1913	224,000	181,000	405,000	3,510,000	3,398,000	6,908,000
1914	263,000	167,000	430,000	3,584,000	2,810,000	6,394,000
1915	182,000	154,000	336,000	3,471,000	4,059,000	7,530,000
1916	196,000	170,000	366,000	5,092,000	4,376,000	9,468,000
1917	116,000	203,000	319,000	3,219,000	3,812,000	7,031,000
1918	79,000	149,000	228,000	2,920,000	2,642,000	5,562,000
1919	133,000	260,000	393,000	7,099,000	9,376,000	16,475,000
1920	223,000	237,000	460,000	14,118,000	11,413,000	25,531,000
1921	178,000	200,000	378,000	6,817,000	5,602,000	12,419,000
1922	185,000	358,134	542,807	6,510,000	6,701,000	13,211,000
1923	248,633	388,775	637,540	7,727,000	7,579,000	15,306,000
1924	253,835	501,818	755,653	7,207,000	8,754,000	15,961,000
1925	310,000	610,000	920,000	8,700,000	9,088,000	17,788,000

† See footnote on page 68.

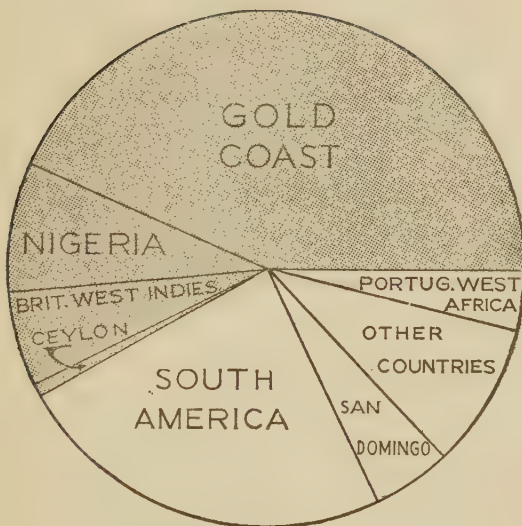
TABLE V.
EXPORTS OF COCOA.†

Year.				Tons.
1906	...	...	...	8,000
1907	...	...	...	10,000
1908	...	...	...	13,000
1909	...	...	...	21,000
1910	...	...	...	22,000
1911	...	...	...	41,000
1912	...	...	...	39,000
1913	...	...	...	52,000
1914	...	...	...	53,000
1915	...	...	...	78,000
1916	...	...	...	73,000
1917	...	...	...	92,000
1918	...	...	...	67,000
1919	...	...	...	176,000
1920	...	...	...	125,000
1921	...	...	...	133,000
1922	...	...	...	159,000
1923	...	...	...	197,000
1924	...	...	...	223,000
1925	...	...	...	213,000

TABLE VI.
EXPORTS OF DIAMONDS.†

Year.				Weight.	Value.
					£
1920	...	...		102 carats	365
1921	...	...		831 "	1,836
1922	...	...		5,306 "	6,798
1923	...	...		9,548 "	10,942
1924	...	...		66,946 "	85,361
1925	...	...		163,000 "	184,000

† As given in *A Review of the Events of 1925-26* by His Excellency Brig.-General Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Governor of the Gold Coast Colony and its Dependencies.



TOTAL WORLD PRODUCTION OF COCOA, 1925.

(The shaded portion shows the production of British Possessions.)

APPENDIX IV.

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS.

AN ASHANTI. (Facing page 16.) The cloth he is wearing so gracefully is of printed cotton, imported, probably, from Manchester. At any rate these printed cotton cloths go by the name of "Manchester goods," though some are imported from Germany. Boldness of design and brightness of colouring are the chief *desiderata*, but the ability of the dyes to stand the wash is not neglected. It is a pity that some manufacturers should have seen fit to print cloths of deliberately repulsive design (judged from our point of view), but, on the whole, the imported cloths are very pleasing and make one wish that English people were fonder than they are of bright colour.

Cloths of native weaving will be found depicted in some of the other illustrations, e.g., in the bottom right-hand corner of the "Durbar at Sekondi" (facing page 49). These cloths are woven in strips about four inches wide, which are then sewn very firmly and neatly together to make a cloth about six feet by ten for a man—a woman's cloth is somewhat smaller. Both silk and cotton are used, and, though the process of weaving is identical for the two materials, each has its distinctive patterns, which are very numerous and varied. Each pattern has its own name and its own use; some, for example, were, in ancient days, worn only by the King of Ashanti; others only by women, others by principal chiefs, and so on. A full-sized cloth of silk is worth as much as sixty or seventy pounds. It is said that at one time silk cloths were imported from Europe in order to be unravelled to provide the yarn for weaving these cloths.

There are two other varieties of cloth worn in the Colony and Ashanti, not to mention rich brocades and velvets imported from Europe. One is obtained by printing—by means of wood-blocks and a sort of black varnish—an all-over design on white cloth (or sometimes brown) of native weaving or foreign importation. The other is made by dyeing white calico with a native blue dye. Parts of the cloth are sewn tightly together and other parts are left loose; the whole is then dipped in the dye, with the result that the loose parts of cloth take up the dye more readily than the other parts, and when it has dried and been unfolded a blue cloth is covered with a design in paler blue. There is nothing haphazard about it; the designs are quite beautiful and are worked out most ingeniously. The more primitive bark-cloth is now seen only in remote villages. The hut which forms the background of the picture is a typical *swish* building with a thatched roof. It needs constant attention to keep it weather-proof, and a whole village of these buildings will disappear completely in two or three years after it has been deserted.

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S DURBAR AT SEKONDI. (Facing page 49.) The picture represents one of the paramount chiefs of the Western Province of the Colony being presented to

the Prince by the Governor. His retinue stand behind bowing, under his state umbrella. The chief's cloth is of silk brocade and he wears many gold ornaments on his wrists, and, probably, on his ankles and sandals as well; his officials wear cloths of native weaving. The gay colours of the umbrellas of the chiefs add greatly to the brightness of the scene on any occasion of state or ceremony.

THE DURBAR AT KUMASI. (Facing page 17.) The Prince is shaking hands with the Seriki of the Kumasi-Zongo. The umbrella under which the Prince stands was presented to him by the Paramount Chief of Mampong, under whose personal supervision the cloth was woven. This particular cloth is known as "The King of Cloths"; the Prince's chair was covered by a cloth known as *Okoasa*, which means "No more war." In Ashanti the King was never permitted to pass even from room to room without being covered by one of these umbrellas, and, on the other hand, a tributary chief must always step from under his umbrella to greet the King. The ornament on the top of the umbrella varied in design and material according to the rank of the chief; the King's were of gold, others usually of silver, though certain chiefs were privileged to have gold ornaments. The Chief of Mampong, pointing out the golden horn on his own umbrella to the author of this book, said that only he and the Chief of Bantama were privileged to use this in "the old days." and lamented that these distinctions were no longer observed, but that lesser men were usurping the badges of the great chiefs.

The difference between the costumes of these Hausas on the one hand, and the Ashantis and Fantis on the other, will readily be noticed, as also their very different manners. One of the Seriki's attendants carries a dagger in a silver scabbard of beautiful Arab workmanship. Some of these Hausa chiefs are attended by men wearing chain armour of the period of the Crusades; some others wear modern suits made, in imitation of these old suits, by the simple device of threading together split steel rings.

AN ASHANTI STOOL. (Facing page 17.) These stools are very characteristic of Ashanti, though the curve of the seat is reminiscent of China. They are carved out of the solid wood in many designs and sizes, the largest being about two feet high and the smallest being intended for the use of quite tiny children. The detail of the carving is often of the greatest delicacy. The various patterns are intended for particular uses; for example, there is one style which is used to rest the shrines of the gods upon, several styles for the exclusive use of the King of Ashanti, others for the use of paramount chiefs, and so on. The one shown in the picture is a woman's stool, and often forms part of the "bridegroom's gift to the bride." There is supposed to exist a peculiar relationship between the stool and the soul of its owner which is attached to, or in some sense identified with, the stool. Hence the importance of "The Golden Stool" which enshrined

the soul of the Ashanti people. The stools of dead chiefs are preserved for generations, and offerings of food and drink are made to them on certain occasions, the offerings being intended, of course, for the departed chief.

CONTRASTS OF TRANSPORT. (Facing page 32.) These two pictures illustrate very vividly what is said in Chapter III. about the rapid development of the country. The lower picture shows a typical new road through the bush, with a train of motor-lorries carrying cocoa. Perhaps the lorries have been accumulated a little for the sake of the picture, but the roads round the important towns are thick with such traffic in the season. But out in the bush the heavy bags of cocoa-beans are still carried for miles on men's (and women's) heads, as shown in the upper picture. This method of transport was, until a few years ago, the only one in Ashanti and the Northern Territories.

KING'S WAY, KUMASI. (Facing page 48.) This is the principal street of Kumasi, and has, as will be seen, two roadways at different levels. The buildings on both sides of the street are the European stores, where the white population do most of their shopping. The lorry and trailer in the foreground are "faked" into this photograph, and are just a little awkward in their new setting, but they give a good idea of what one is likely to meet. The oil-lamp on the left will soon give place to an electric lamp if, indeed, it has not already done so. The store just opposite the lamp is where the bedsteads for St. Augustine's College were bought.

PREPARING PALM-OIL NUTS. (Facing page 33.) This picture shows a very typical bush village and group of villagers. The iron pots are imported articles, but the great basket and the canoe are obviously of native manufacture.

COCOA-DRYING. (Facing page 64.) This sort of thing may be seen in almost any village in the Colony or Ashanti. The beans are stirred about on long tables, or on sheets spread on the ground, until they are thoroughly dry, and are then ready for the buyer. If the beans are spread on the ground they need to be watched constantly, lest pigs or goats should interfere with them. The huts which form the background of the picture are made of split bamboos, and are not intended for permanent homes, but for use in the busy season only; the village to which they belong is possibly several miles away. Such huts as these can be built in a very short time if the materials are at hand. Some of our village churches and schools are of this character, but as soon as the little congregation can afford to do so, they build something more permanent.

NKAWKAW STATION. (Facing page 64.) When the Benedictine Fathers first went to Kumasi they travelled up from Accra, and this station was the farthest point they could reach by

train; they stayed the night here and completed the journey next day by lorry. When the next Father went out to take up the work of St. Augustine's College he made the whole journey by train. The pile of loaves seen in the bottom left-hand of the picture is for sale to the passengers in the train; bread with bananas and oranges is in great demand, for the journey is slow, hot, and dusty. Europeans who are travelling far usually take a "chop-box," and it is advisable to stock this with a whole day's food; breakfast, because one has probably been too hurried to do justice to this meal before starting, and dinner because, although the train is due to arrive at its journey's end about 6 p.m., one never knows how late it may actually be; it has been known to arrive next morning. The mixed crowd seen on the platform is interesting; it consists of several Englishmen, one apparently an officer of the Gold Coast Regiment or of the police, Hausas (there is one in the foreground, recognizable by his conical hat and equally conical beard), Ashantis, and Fantis. The station buildings on the newer part of the line between Nkawkaw and Kumasi are of more substantial type than those here shown.



APPENDIX V.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF EXHIBITS.

[The steward and the exhibits.—The court steward at an Exhibition is responsible, while on duty, for the care of the exhibits, some of which may be very valuable, either intrinsically or because of their rarity. Some are fragile, and need careful handling. The general public is not allowed to handle the exhibits, consequently the steward should see that they are so placed as to be visible, and when it is necessary to handle them the steward alone is to do it, and give a short explanation of the meaning. A few short but *definite* remarks on the nature of the article, its use, and by whom it is used, are better than long, vague descriptions. Stewards have been heard to say, "*They use this there* for such a purpose," not realizing apparently how little this may convey to the hearer. It is best to begin in some such way as this: "These curiosities are from," say, "South Africa; they are made and used by the Zulus," and then a few words to say who the Zulus are. The steward will then probably display some object which shows the natural cleverness of this great people. This will lead him to speak of their superstitions, and he will pick up some article illustrating them, and so by using one exhibit after another he will leave in his hearers' minds a definite impression, not perhaps very full, but clear as far as it goes, of the need these splendid people have and feel of a Saviour. A word or two about Missions and our duty will give point to this little talk, and the steward will be surprised at the interest he has aroused. If the steward makes a point of being present when the missionary is speaking in his court, he will soon become familiar with the main lines of the deputation's talks, and be able to speak with more knowledge than if he depended entirely upon books.

The steward will find children most eager questioners; and he will show them the more interesting of his exhibits, always striving to arouse their sympathy in the needs and sorrows of the non-Christian world.

The steward should not require, before describing an article, to read the label in the presence of the visitor, and it should be the pleasant duty of the steward to see that the exhibits are kept clean and free from dust.]

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts has a collection of exhibits illustrative of the arts and crafts of the West African peoples. In estimating the artistic value of some of these we must remember that primitive art is symbolical rather than "photographic," that is to say, it attempts to represent ideas rather than to give accurate pictures of things. It is interesting to note that in this endeavour the most modern European art joins hands with that of primitive peoples, with results not always markedly different. These exhibits illustrate, too, the every-day life of their former owners, for, with few exceptions, they were made for use and not for ornament. It is true that one boy, when asked why he was carrying a fly-whisk, replied, "For style, Father"; but, nevertheless, the thing—it was a very beautiful one, too—was made for driving away flies. Those which are illustrated in Plate viii. (*viz.*, Nos. 1-11) were chosen as being typical of the Diocese of Accra, but the whole of West Africa is represented in the collection.

1. Basket of raffia-work, probably of Hausa workmanship; but this sort of basket is to be found almost anywhere on the coast of West Africa. Sizes, shapes, and colour designs vary almost infinitely. The block inside this one was put there only to lift the lid for the sake of getting a better photograph.

2. Bow. This particular bow is a child's toy from the Niger Delta, and is not intended for serious use. Fire-arms have long been known and used on the Coast both for warfare and for hunting, so that bows for serious use are not often seen except in the very remote districts.

3. Calabash. Calabashes are made from the dried skins of gourds; the fruit is cut and the seeds are all scooped out; the skin is then left to dry in the sun, when it becomes very hard. They vary in size and shape very widely, and are used for very many purposes. If you buy a jar of palm-wine as you tramp through the bush the vendor will bring you a calabash to drink from; two or three bottle-shaped calabashes with a few pebbles inside each form part of West African orchestra; large ones are often carried by the women on their heads as portmanteaux or clothes-baskets. They are ornamented very beautifully sometimes by painting, but more often by being slightly carved. The small one in the collection has been cracked at some time and mended with "Tie-tie"; the mending itself has been turned into a very decorative piece of work. Here is an idea for darning stockings! ("Tie-tie" is pidgin English.)

4. Sword and scabbard. This particular specimen is from Nigeria, but they are much in evidence all through the Diocese of Accra; other shapes are more usual than this. They are worn by the Hausas, but they are not of much use for they are made of very inferior metal. The leather-work of the hilt and scabbard is dyed red and decorated with plaitings of yellow, black, green, in patterns of considerable intricacy.

5. Necklace of beads. Beads are in great demand among the women and girls of West Africa for making necklaces and girdles. Certain beads, which are known as "Aggrey" beads, are very highly prized heirlooms, and are said to be worth their weight in gold. These are sometimes said to be of ancient Phœnician manufacture, but it is more probable that they are mediæval Venetian and that they reached the Coast overland.

6. Fetish. A full discussion of the subject of Fetishism would require a large volume. The underlying theory is that all things have a spiritual, as well as a material, existence, and that the material characteristics are in no way a guide to, or a measure of, the spiritual. Thus a very insignificant material object may have a very important spiritual character. If, therefore, you have the requisite knowledge you are able to devise combinations of material things which will possess enormous spiritual power, and to provide yourself and others with safeguards against almost every sort of ill. These contrivances are the fetishes for which West Africa is noted. All manner of things are used in their manufacture—bones, skin, hair and horns of certain animals, earth, rags, old sweeping brooms, leaves and seeds of plants, and so on. They are put together with certain solemn rites and ceremonies, and the finished article must be treated with great respect if its spirit is not to be driven away in high dudgeon. Hausa fetishes, consisting

of certain passages from the Koran written on parchment and sewn up in little leather cases are also very popular among all the Coast people. Altogether fetish-making is a very profitable business, for the cost of materials is very low and the price of the finished product very high; there are no "overhead charges" and the amount of labour involved is not far removed from zero. Most fetishes are intended to be worn or carried on the person, but there are some intended to be placed among the growing crops or in the house, and there are some so big that they require a house of their own. In some parts of West Africa the cult of fetishes has almost driven away the worship of the gods and has become a sort of devil-worship; but, on the whole, the use of fetishes is harmless enough, though, of course, rankly superstitious.

7. Another fetish.

8. Drum and drumstick. Drums of every size and shape are constantly in use in West Africa. Failing anything else an empty packing-case turned upside-down and beaten with the bare hands will provide sufficient "music" for a big dance. Captain Rattray gives the names of nine different kinds of Ashanti drums.* These all have their own particular function and use, and on ceremonial occasions they are attired in their own distinctive uniforms, some being dressed in the skins of animals and others in cotton or silk cloths. They are usually beaten with sticks shaped almost like L, but some are beaten with the bare hand. The "talking-drums" (*ntumpane*) of Ashanti are particularly interesting. These are always used in pairs, one male, the other female, and their two distinctive tones provide a means by which the accentuation and rhythm of the vernacular can be reproduced. In this way long histories of the tribes and their great chiefs are recounted, but it is necessary to know the story in order to be able to read it. Another talking-drum, the *fontomfrom*, is used in a similar fashion for repeating proverbs and wise sayings, which, however, are drummed out completely on one drum only, the alternation of tones not being used, although the *fontomfrom* are used in pairs like the *ntumpane*.

9. Pipe. Pipes for smoking tobacco (when it can be obtained) or the dried leaves of some indigenous plant are made in various designs in both clay and brass. Some of the patterns are made and used by men only, whereas others may be made and used by either men or women. Smoking is not a prevalent habit in Ashanti, but is found about as frequently among women as among men. The pipe shown in the illustration has lost its stem, which may have been as much as four feet long.

10. Fly-whisk. One or more fly-whisks form part of the regalia of any chief of note, and special officials are appointed to wield them. They squat on the ground quite near the chief as he sits in state in his court, and one can see them quite busily concerned in the performance of their task; they are chiefly engaged with their

*Religion and Art in Ashanti, page 113.

master's ankles, as there are other people with fans to take care of his face. This fly-whisk is made of horse-hair and is, therefore, probably a Hausa production; the handle, too, is decorated with the characteristic Hausa leather-work.

11. Set of gold-weights, scales, &c. This case contains a pair of scales, three spoons, two scoops, and part of a set of weights. Gold-dust used to be the currency of the country until the advent of the European introduced a coinage. Now, however, it is no longer necessary to carry all this paraphernalia about when one goes shopping, but formerly some such set as this was a necessary possession of every adult male of property. The weights are very interesting specimens of brass-casting, but the art is now almost extinct. Sets of such weights are sometimes offered for sale nowadays, but they should be bought with caution as, at best, they have probably been recently cast just for sale, and, at worst, may first have seen the light of day many miles from West Africa.

12. Basket.

13. Arab's socks.

14. Comb.

15. Woven grass.

16. Basket.

17. Man's hat from the Yoruba (Nigeria) or Hausa country. These hats are made of grass and trimmed with Hausa leather. They are made so large because they are intended to be worn over a turban. The trimming of the hat varies according to the country to which the wearer belongs. The Mohammedans much favour this head dress, though it is not confined to them.

18. Fans (2).

19. Bell. This little bell is made from the shell of the nut of the fan palm. This is a very tall and handsome tree, and carries great fan-shaped leaves; unlike the nut and coconut palms, which have fronds with a long centre stem, the leaves coming out on each side along its whole length. The fruit of the fan palm is like the coconut, but much smaller and harder inside. The inside is taken out and a little wooden tongue inserted. The bell is tied to the neck of a sporting dog, so that when it is running in the bush its master may hear its whereabouts.

20. Sieve.

21. Tray (grass). This tray or platter of coloured grass work comes from the Ibo country, in the Niger Delta; it was made at Bonny. N.B.—Brass and Bonny (some of the exhibits come from each of these two places) are two of the oldest stations of the C.M.S. in West Africa. These Missions were started by Bishop Crowther, who built his cathedral at Bonny, on the site of a heathen temple, the pillars of which were decorated with the skulls and bones of the victims of heathen sacrifices.

22. Grass bag.

23. Plaited cane bag.

24. Grass bag.

25. Grass mat.

26. Musical instrument.

27. Calabash.

28. Basket.

29. Sandals.

30. Fan (raw hide). These fans come from the Yoruba country. They are made from bullock's skin. Notice here again the

decorative way in which "tie-tie" is used to sew on the handle. The specimen in the collection has become bald, but when the hair was on it, it was either black or white, or black and white. When a chief travels or moves about out of doors, or pays a visit, he usually has an attendant with him, who carries a fan of this description and fans him with it at intervals. These fans are sometimes as much as two feet in diameter.

31. Python skin. The owner of this skin was shot at Brass, in the Niger Delta, one of the Ijo towns. The snake and the pigeon are two of the "gods" of the Ijo people, and are worshipped by them. Years ago a trader at Brass killed a snake that came to his house. The people were so enraged at his having done so that they tied him to a stake, spat in his face, and beat him almost to death. To this day they will neither kill a snake nor allow one to be killed.

32. Leather bag.

33. Musical instruments from the Kroo Coast, or, more probably, made in some other country by a Kroo "boy." The box is made from an old gin case and the keys from pieces of bamboo. It is played by depressing the keys with the fingers and releasing them. It is the rhythm and not the tune that makes the music. In every town in the Kroo quarter, and on every ship up and down the coast, these instruments may be seen and heard, revealing everywhere the presence of the Kroo people.

34. Calabashes.

35. Water bottle.

36. Oil bottle (raw hide).

37. Basket.

38. Idol.

39. Hausa book.

40. Hausa book.

41. Fishing net.

42. Boots.

43. Writing case.

44. Embroidered shoes.

45. Cooking spoon. This is a domestic utensil from the Brass country, Niger Delta. It is made from the shell of the coconut and is used in cooking. "Cooking soup" is the all-important culinary operation of the West Africans. The "soup" is made of flesh-meat, fish, or sometimes a very big species of snail, with various herbs and a very large quantity of pepper, not the East Indian pepper, but the red pepper called at home "chillies." The soup is eaten with a stiff kind of blanc-mange made from boiled and pounded yam or plantain. The cooking is done in an earthenware pot made in the country.

46. Wooden bangles.

47. Seed.

48. Mat.

49. Mat cover.

50. Whip (raw hide). The expression "raw hide" may be used either of the whip itself or of its effect in the hand of a skilful operator. It is made from a strip of the skin of the manatee, which is the African seal. It is twisted while the hide is "green," and dried in the sun.

51. Woman's head pad. The women in the interior have a peculiar method of doing the hair. A piece of thin bamboo is bent over the head, one end on the forehead and the other at the

back of the head. Over this the hair is brought up from the sides of the head; when fastened it forms a comb or ridge, like the ridge of Britannia's helmet. It is obvious that it would be exceedingly inconvenient to place a heavy load on the top of this construction, and therefore this pad, which has a hollow to receive the ridge of the hair, is placed on the head and the load is put on the top of it.

52. Brass ewer (Nupe).

53. Wooden slate (Yoruba). These writing tablets are used in all the Mohammedan schools. Verses from the Koran are written on them with a reed pen; when they have been committed to memory, they are washed off with a bit of loofa, or wood fibre, and a fresh set written and learnt. The school is held in the open air, or in the verandah in front of the teacher's house, the children sitting on the steps, or on skins on the floor, or on a little stool. Noise is the great feature of the Mohammedan school; each child shouts his verses at the top of his voice independently of others; this is the extent of the teaching. The tablet is held in the left hand, with the handle at the top and the arm underneath.

54. Drum, as used in a canoe. This is from the Niger Delta, where the native canoes are of a very fine order, sometimes being propelled by twenty or thirty rowers; the rowers sit along the sides, and paddle; the steersman stands in the stern and steers with a long-handled paddle. Time is kept in paddling with one or two of these wooden tom-toms; they are beaten with a stick, and put heart into the rowers as well as keeping them in time. It is said that in a war canoe, in addition to the tom-toms and other musical instruments, one man walks up and down between the rowers with a whip, which he uses effectively—another way of producing Dutch courage.

55. Idol (Rio Pongo).

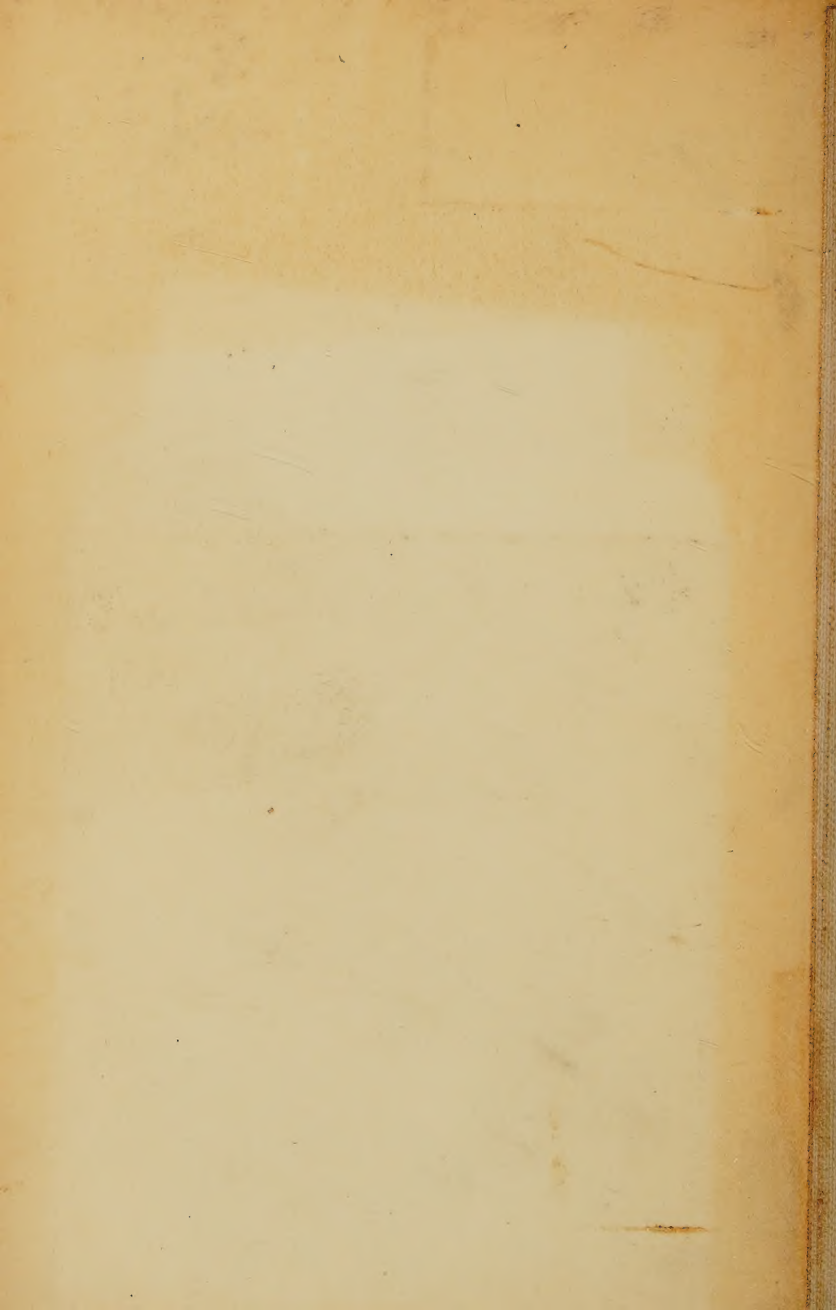
56 and 57. Hausa robes. Made from native-grown cotton. "It would be well within the mark to say that Kano (the commercial capital of Hausaland) clothes more than half the population of the Central Soudan, and any European traveller who will take the trouble to ask for it will find no difficulty in purchasing Kano-made cloth at towns on the coast as widely separated from one another as Alexandria, Tripoli, Tunis, or Lagos. The cloth is woven on narrow looms, the separate strips being never more than four inches in width.* These are sewn together so neatly that no join could be detected except by very careful investigation. By far the greater part of the cloth is dyed blue, the native indigo, which grows wild all over the country, being used for this purpose. There is also a scarlet dye very commonly used for dyeing articles of clothing."—From "Hausaland," Canon C. H. Robinson.

58. Ijo doll (Niger Delta). This block of wood is intended to represent the "human form divine." As a doll it is loved by

*Some Kano cloths are woven in strips a foot wide, but possibly Canon Robinson had no opportunity of seeing these.

the little girls. Its constitution requires some explanation. The body and arms are apparent; a closer examination will reveal the head; there are no legs. On the top there still remain some traces of the yellow paint made from the yellow wood of a tree, ground in water. With this the heads of children are decorated; the hair is first shaved off in patches and the shaved portions are then painted with this yellow paint. The top of the doll is so painted, and a head is thereby suggested. The arms are made of pieces of rag, bound round with a very strong and excellent cord, which is made from the fibre of the banana tree, and is used for fishing-line. The children are fond of their dolls, and the women and men are extremely fond of their children so long as they are tiny and dependent on their parents' care; when they are grown old enough to be more independent there is not the same evidence of affection.

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| 59. Tobacco box. | 60. Dish cover. |
| 61. Drum. | 62. Candle stands (2). |
| 63. Charm. | 64. Beer strainer. |
| 65. Box (leather covered). | 66. Brass box. |
| 67. Photos of Lagos. | 68. Dagger. |
| 69. Ewer. | 70. Violin. |
| 71. Bowl. | 72. Flute. |
| 73. Girdle. | 74. Pipe bowl. |
| 75. Hat box and two hats; one satchel. | |
| 76. Pillow case. This piece of decorated leather work is intended to be stuffed full and hard with horse hair, and used as a pillow. | |
| 77. Striped garment. | 78. Woman's robe. |
| 79. Case for books. | 80. So-So reading book. |
| 81. Rio Pongas Susu New Testament. | |



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